

Nevada Test
Site November
Action



Greens Focus on Detroit
Summer, Earth Day, 500
Years of Resistance



ACT-UP
Protests Bush's
AIDS Policies

GREEN LETTER



Vol. 7 No. 2

\$2.00

Greener Times



"I'D QUIT THIS LINE OF WORK IN A MINUTE IF IT DIDN'T HAVE
SUCH GREAT JOB SECURITY!"

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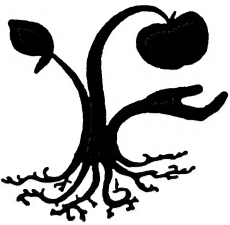
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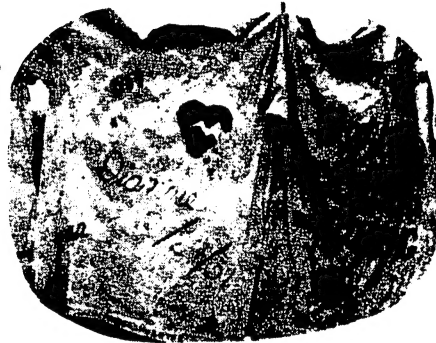


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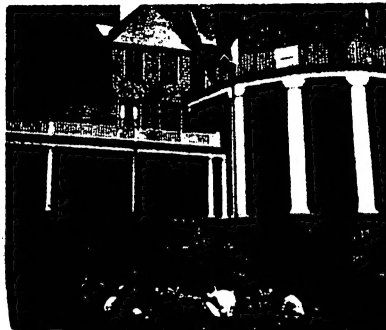
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GREEN LETTER



Greener Times

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Why Detroit Summer?

by Paul Stark, *Detroit Greens*

As Greens concerned about creating new ways of living, we all know that cities across the country are in a state of crisis. The wealth of economic opportunities that helped create our cities has disappeared. With the loss of jobs comes the loss of population, decay of housing and infrastructure and erosion of the tax base that results in underfunded public education and deteriorating city services. This, in turn, weakens the economic viability of the city, further creating a downward spiral of joblessness, poor education, inadequate city services, population loss and blight. This vicious cycle has contributed to the epidemics of poverty, crime, drug abuse, homelessness and blight that we now confront.

Perhaps nowhere has this spiraling urban crisis been more graphically demonstrated than in our city of Detroit. In 1981, when Michigan entered a recession, Detroit entered a Depression which it has yet to escape. In the decade of the 1980's, Detroit lost 200,000 jobs. The population has dropped to less than half of what it was at its peak in the 1950's—a loss of over 1 million people! The population is now

less than what it was in 1925. There are 65,000 vacant lots in the city and 15,000 abandoned buildings with 5,000 homes demolished last year alone. Detroit schools receive less than one third the dollars per pupil that some other Michigan communities receive. Fifteen public libraries and dozens of schools and fire stations are boarded up. A local Homeless Coalition estimates the homeless population at near 50,000. At one city hospital, half of all infants born last year were addicted to crack cocaine.

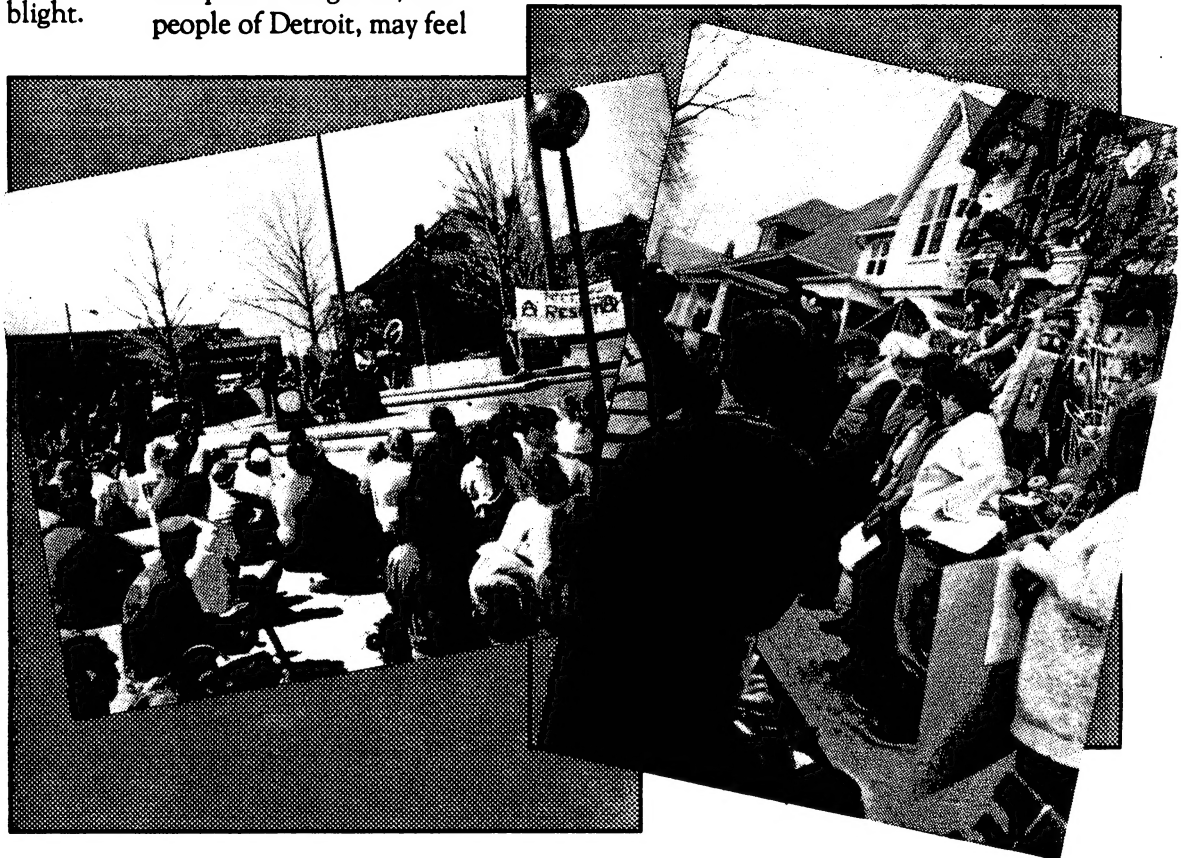
The statistics go on and the media never misses an opportunity to sensationalize this "urban war zone" as they call it. More and more it seems the conditions in our cities are spoken of as "their" problem and not America's problem. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said, we are quickly becoming two separate Americas—separate and unequal. Though we, the people of Detroit, may feel

that the nation has turned its back on us, we have not given up.

The People of Detroit Respond

The people of Detroit have responded to the devastation of daily living by forming 112 neighborhood organizations, 30 neighborhood small business associations, 300 cooperatives in housing, food, day-care and worker collectives... and over 150 community organizations to address our problems through direct, grass-roots action.

In these organizations and activities many green values are being put into practice: cooperatives, block clubs, urban gardens, community building. These values have come out of necessity, not some abstract intellectual commitment to a philosophy. The rise of community-based institutions has come as the traditional institutions of government and corpo-



Greens Launch Detroit Summer

Detroit Summer will bring youth from all over the country into Detroit to help community-based organizations rebuild their city. This is not a movement from the grassroots, it's a movement in the grassroots!

At the August National Gathering, the Greens consensed to make Detroit Summer one of three major campaigns for the coming year. The decision echoed the commitment of the Gathering to making "Green Justice" a priority. For more information on this and other Green action plans, see page 49.

rations have failed to provide jobs, services and a decent standard of living. No one thinks that anyone will restore Detroit but Detroiters. We know that the solution to the crisis we face does not lie in the hands of either the government nor the corporations. It is in the hands of our communities.

Detroit Summer 1992

It is in this context that we propose Detroit Summer, 1992. Through this action we can draw the attention of the nation to our urban problems and to the creativity that is emerging among people to address them. We believe that through Detroit Summer we can demonstrate how work at the community level to rebuild our cities house by house, street by street and neighborhood by neighborhood with the spirit of community self reliance, cooperation, social responsibility, compassion and a celebration of cultural diversity are the only way to make fundamental change in how we are living. We are shifting away from dependence on big government and big corporations and toward the Green values of economic self-reliance, decentralization of decision-making to the community level, and ecologically sound use of local resources. By taking individual responsibility to work neighbor by neighbor, we are taking control of our streets, our work and our lives.

We hope to involve concerned young people from all over the country in the efforts of Detroiters to rebuild and restore our city. Volunteers for Detroit Summer, 1992 will work directly with citizens organizations to build urban gardens, march

on crack houses, rebuild homes, assist in restoring and reclaiming neighborhoods, participate in discussions, presentations and the rich cultural and ethnic diversity of Detroit.

Perhaps nowhere in the U.S. is the collapse of the present social, economic and political system more obvious than in Detroit. Nowhere in the U.S. is the building of a Green alternative more immediately critical. Let's make Detroit a showcase for a Green future.

Photos

Page 2, left: a rally sponsored by WE PROS, We the People Reclaiming Our Streets

Page 2, right: Detroit activists gather in front of a house decorated with fragments of the cityscape by the "Heidelberg artist"

Page 3, both: Greens, in Detroit for a 1990 national coordinating meeting, join a march and rally sponsored by WE PROS

Designed by George Franklin



Waste Not, Want Not



Recycling for the People

The benefits of recycling, environmental or economic, are not translated into benefits for the specific community that is being asked to participate. What's wrong with recycling isn't the people but

nity control of economic activity generated by recycling.

This mechanism could take the form of community-owned recycling corporations (CORCs). CORCs would be capital-

in New York City. Community-based organizations, non-profits and local development corporations (dedicated to neighborhood-oriented economic development) are ideal starting points. The City would act as the overall administrator of such a network, dispersing funds and providing technical assistance.

Problems with this model, however, are not too hard to find. Capitalizing a number of new corporations is a high financial task for a City that is struggling with budget deficits, service reductions and layoffs. The resolution of this issue lies more in how the question of who pays is posed. The City ultimately pays for recycling and garbage disposal. The garbage needs to be collected, and State and City law require a certain amount of recycling. It simply costs money to provide these services.

To formulate the question in another way is to ask not only who pays, but who profits. The City pays for recycling service whether it is delivered by their own bureaucrats and sanitation workers or by private waste haulers. The community-based approach represents the potential for a

transfer of economic resources and power, while building a bridge between environmental and social problems: A public environmental policy objective is achieved—recycling—while at the same time resources are dispersed to New York communities that are in need of economic empowerment.

Economic empowerment comes only through a mechanism that insures democratic control of resources. If funds were to be dispersed to a community-owned recycling corporation, a way to insure that the corporation truly served its constituency of community members and recycling workers, as well as insuring accountability for its recycling and social mission, is needed. Given the City's sordid history of corrup-

ized by the City, and have full responsibility for a range of recycling activities in any given community or groups of communities. These activities would include curbside collections, neighborhood drop-offs and "cash for trash" operations. Additionally, CORCs would process and market recyclable materials, probably in cooperation with one another. A CORC would generate economic activity through recycling, create jobs for members of the community and redistribute profits from recycling activity back to the community it serves through social service improvements, small business loans, community improvements and so on.

The basis for creating CORCs exists



Curbside recycling in Boreum Hill, Brooklyn. In some neighborhoods, participation in curbside recycling has reached 30%. Because of budget cuts, the City's recycling program is scheduled to temporarily end before December.

the program that's been set up.

A group of New York activists have shown interest in an approach that makes a connection between a need to recycle and a need to provide jobs and economic control to the City's communities. Activists have been building a network of community-based recycling opportunities that can serve as a model for removing basic recycling activity from the City's bureaucracy and for keeping some of it out of the hands of the private sector.

Ultimately, a community-based approach to recycling would rely not on a community's volunteerism, but on establishing a mechanism for adding economic value to recyclables and insuring commu-

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Burning Questions

Ben Esner

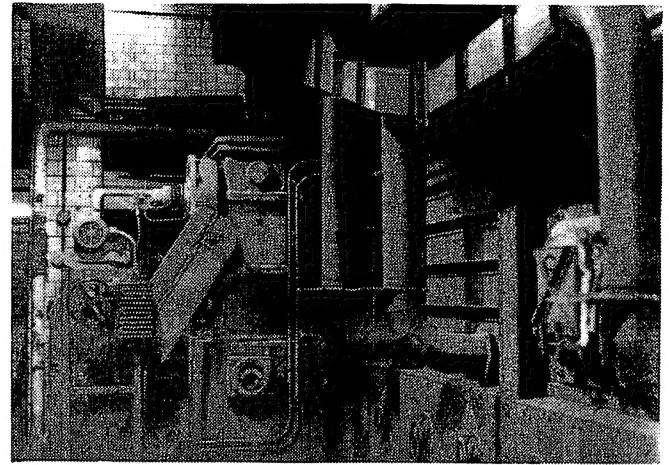
Incineration is capital intensive. A new facility planned for Brooklyn to burn 3,000 tons a day of trash will cost \$400 million, not counting interest the City will owe as it pays the money back to bondholders. New construction for infrastructure comes out of the City's capital budget—money the City borrows through bond issues, handled for a fee based on a percentage of the total sale by the country's financial service giants. The City then pays interest to the buyers of those bonds, usually over a thirty year period. In short, when the City builds incinerators, large financial service institutions and the buyers of municipal bonds stand a lot to gain. This point is not lost on the City's elected decision makers, already contending with the political and economic power of these groups, and complicates policy making.

Recycling advocates point out that recycling is labor intensive, not capital intensive. More jobs, less technology and fewer capital dollars are needed to recycle.

For example, a 34,000 ton a day recycling plant costs only \$20 million, *one-twentieth* the cost of the proposed new incinerator. Most importantly, incinerators divert dollars to bond holders and brokerage houses - not back into New York City's economy.

The City currently owns three incinerators that are antiquated relics, unable to meet new federal and state air emissions standards. The administration is spending millions of dollars on new pollution control equipment and other capital improvements at these plants. Capital dollars environmentalists believe should be spent on recycling.

While a study designed to map the City's waste management future is being completed, a study that will decide be-

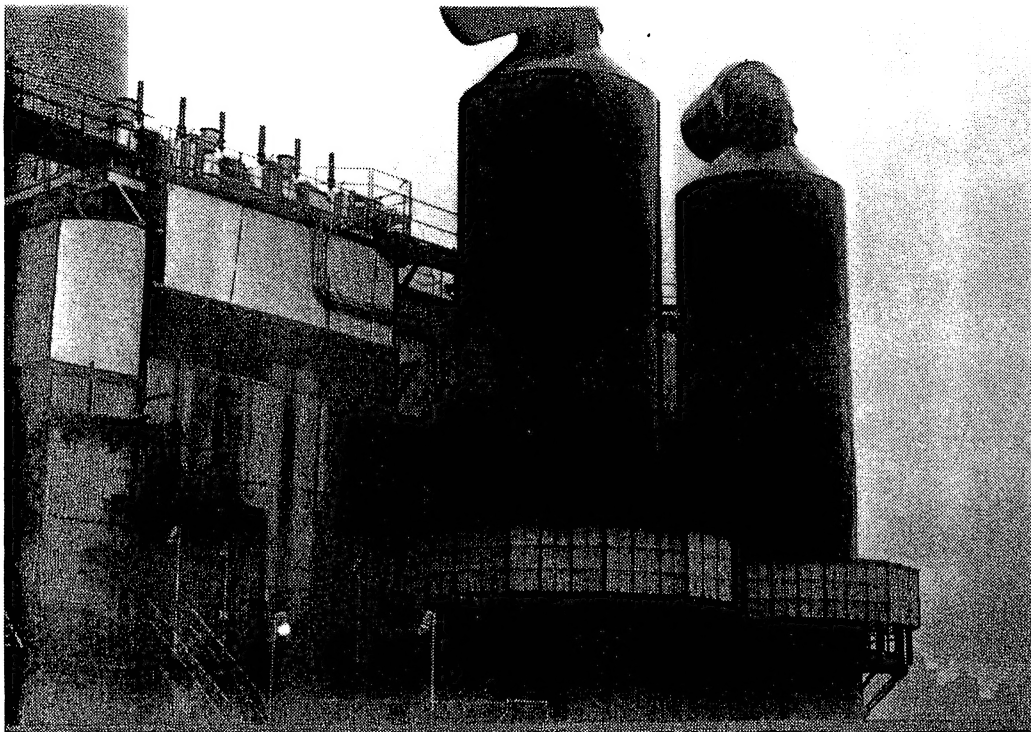


One of three furnaces inside the Greenpoint incinerator. The plant was built in the 1950s and its outdated technology releases mercury, dioxin and other air pollutants and toxics into the neighborhood.

tween maximizing recycling and building new incinerators, a long-standing political debate continues within the environmental community. The City's established environmental groups are divided over the future of incineration policy.

The merits of pollution control technology, energy recovery and other aspects of this high-tech approach to the City's garbage problem have split environmentalists. Many grass-roots activists, especially those who advocate community-based recycling, are leading incineration opponents. The Natural Resources Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Fund and The Environmental Action Coalition supported the Brooklyn incinerator project when it was first proposed in the mid-1980s. However, now that the City is backing away from its commitment to an aggressive recycling program because of perceived failures and budget cuts, those groups are reconsidering supporting new incinerators.

As the City's waste plan lurches forward, it remains to be seen how different environmental groups will react to the final product. It seems likely that the final plan will call for the maintenance of the existing incinerators, the construction of the Brooklyn project, and one or two additional burning plants. All told, that would add up to between 8,250 and 12,000 tons per day of incineration capacity. That's about 30-45% of the total amount of trash thrown away in the City every day. □



The roof of the Greenpoint incinerator in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. By the 1870s, Greenpoint had developed with factories along its waterfront and housing within walking distance. Greenpoint is still heavily industrialized and very polluted, but now residents question whether people and industry should be so near each other. They particularly resent the number of City-owned waste handling plants that have located in the area.



Dan Quayle: Business's Back Door Boy

Jim Sibbison

The Following article was excerpted from The Nation Magazine/ The Nation Co. Inc.

When Dan Quayle was an Indiana senator, he was careful to sponsor special-interest legislation and other causes that kept the industrialists in his state contented. As vice president, Quayle is again conferring financial favors on industry. He derives his power from the chairmanship of an obscure government agency called the President's Council on Competitiveness. Quayle publicly defines his job as keeping the United States "number one in the global market," but privately he uses the post to communicate with secret contacts in industry and to order government agencies to weaken or toss out regulations that displease corporate executives.

In recent months, Quayle has been targeting the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) new regulation to reduce the severe pollution that contaminates urban air. He already has forced revisions so extensive that, if allowed to stand, they could increase air pollution. The facts about the Quayle council have been brought out by the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment.

Quayle has President Bush to thank for his promotion from figurehead to behind-the-scenes Washington player. Bush initiated the practice of secret negotiations with industry and was extremely effective in scaling down regulations, particularly those of the EPA, that companies consider burdensome.

Quayle's preemptive power is so considerable that he can overrule heads of agencies like EPA administrator William Reilly. The sweeping nature of Quayle's demands come through in a memorandum he sent to the heads of agencies and departments on March 22. "President Bush asked the Council on Competitiveness to oversee the regulatory process... I appreciate your help to make sure that [this] process operates to minimize the burden on the economy of all federal regulation. Henceforth," he said, "heads of agencies

were to send his reviewers any "documents announcing or implementing regulatory policy that affects the public."

Quayle's handling of a new EPA regulation that sets limits on a major source of air pollution—the 34,000 chemical plants, oil refineries, factories and power plants owned by large companies—illustrates his

emergency increases requested by Lilly and the auto industry. That's the way Quayle operates, said an investigator for representative Waxman (chair of the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment). "EPA says no because its illegal and the memo comes over from the vice president's office with the exact changes in it."

These were by no means minor revisions. According to Waxman, the changes allow all regulated companies to rewrite their own permits to allow unlimited increases in pollution. The companies need only notify state environmental agencies and if they don't hear from them in seven days the increases can be locked in. Anyone who has ever dealt with a government agency knows that it can take at least seven days for a letter to land on the right desk. EPA administrator Reilly was obliged to go along with Quayle's changes.

So attuned are Quayle's reviewers to management's wishes that public backing for a regulation has been cited as a reason to oppose it. The EPA's Reilly, for example, had proposed requiring municipal incinerator operators to set aside 25 percent of their paper, plastics and other wastes for recycling instead of burning them. At the top of a list of objections to this rule, a reviewer for Quayle listed suspicion that the EPA had proposed the rule "primarily because recycling has enormous public support."

Another reviewer let slip whom the Quayle council consults for advice. "Industry contacts," reported the critic, say "recycling costs are often underestimated." Big business had its reasons for opposing this regulation: Companies like Waste Management, Inc., Browning-Ferris Industries, Ford Motor Company and Bechtel Corporation are involved in various aspects of incineration required by the EPA rule that would cause a reduction in profit. So



style. This regulation, as written by the EPA, allowed the companies to make minimal increases in their pollution emission in emergency situations. One of the companies whose officers thought the emergency increases weren't big enough was Eli Lilly and Company, a large pharmaceutical manufacturer in Indianapolis and a generous contributor to Quayle's Senate campaigns. Davis McAvoy, a Lilly attorney, said in a February 28 letter to the EPA that his company needed more "operational flexibility" to anticipate a sudden need to produce essential drugs. Thomas Carr, a vice president of the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association, asked the agency on March 28 for the same concessions for his industry.

The EPA rejected both requests. However in April, David McIntosh of Quayle's staff sent a list of "suggested changes" to the agency. It included the

Continues on page 59



From Ash to Cash

Ron Chepesiuk

Over the past two decades the international trade in toxic waste has grown alarmingly as the industrialized nations run out of room at home. Greenpeace reports that from 1968 to 1988 more than 3.6 million tons of waste—solvents, acetone, cobalt, cadmium, medical and pharmaceutical waste, and perhaps some low-level radioactive waste—got shipped to less developed nations. "This figure should be interpreted as a minimal total and the tip of the iceberg," says Jim Valette, waste trade coordinator for the group. In Koko, Nigeria, 3,800 tons of highly poisonous waste, including potentially lethal polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), were found in drums at an open site in town, the gift of a local businessman who forged his cargo papers and bribed the Koko port officials. Several hundred barrels recently washed up on the Turkish shore where some curious locals opened the lids only to suffer nausea and skin rashes. A few barrels of trouble have rolled down the economic slope to any number of poor countries: black South Africa, the former East Germany, China, Romania, Poland (where some barrels were sold as varnish), Thailand and others. One company tried to dump millions of used tires off the Marshall Islands, billing them as a new form of underwater reef for the fish. Another firm almost sweet-talked Guatemala into building 100 kilometers of roads with incinerator ash.

Over 83 countries have banned waste imports. Such organizations as CARICOM, a 13-nation association of English speaking Caribbean countries, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECWAS) have taken strong stands against the trade. In January, 1991, all of Africa, except for South Africa and Morocco, adopted a sweeping ban which under the Organizations of African Unity (OAU) may be the toughest in the world. Some industrialized nations do recognize the problem, especially those in Western Europe. In Brussels, the European Parliament has unanimously called for a ban on large-scale exports of hazardous waste to poor countries, while the European Economic Community (EEC) has joined 66

nations from Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean in curbing the international shipment of toxic wastes.

The international toxic waste trade "became a trend in the late 80s as opposition to landfills and incinerators gained momentum in the US and Europe," says Greenpeace's Valette. And the countries with the toughest laws also produce most of the waste. The West generates about

rent a ship, hire a crew, and set sail.

Enticed by the prospect of millions of dollars for their economy, developing countries often accept shipments of toxic waste with little understanding of the health and environmental dangers involved. "Most developing countries have neither the technical capability nor the regulatory infrastructure to ensure the safe handling of toxic waste," NRDC's Bloom



90% of the estimated 325 to 375 million tons of hazardous waste produced worldwide every year. Each North American generates one ton of toxic waste each year.

This waste disposal crisis has spawned a slew of new companies that have turned to financially-strapped nations in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific as repositories for Western refuse. Fortunes are being made by enterprising and unscrupulous businesses that know how to take advantage of the *gray zones* in international law. "They are not technical people," says the EPA's Greider. "The president of the company may be a lawyer or someone who has worked for a shipping company for many years with no expertise in biology or toxicology."

Toxic waste brokers often operate from post office box numbers in such places as Gibraltar, Switzerland, Lichtenstein and the Isle of Man. They register as a private company and buy the wastes with no questions asked. After they find a receptive dump site in a poor country, they

explains.

Environmentalists and officials from developing countries say Western countries must tighten up their laws on toxic waste exports. In March, 1989, 105 countries under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), met for three days in Basel, Switzerland, to write the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Waste and their Disposal.

A lot of important points still have to be addressed or the treaty will be rendered ineffective. These include the definition of international waters, the specific meaning of environmental safety, and the assignment of legal liability.

In the US, the Basel Convention has gotten a mixed reception. Senator Kasten believes. "The pact doesn't go as far as it should, but it's a step in the right direction." But Greenpeace's Valette calls it a "glorification of the status quo," and a "jus-

Continues page 60



The Circle of Toxic Metals

Excerpted from testimonies given at the Inter-Denominational Hearings on Toxics in Minority Communities, SouthWest Organizing Project, 1989, unpublished transcripts

Fenix Junkyard — Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico

History speaks for itself in regards to the Southwest's relationship to Mexico. Carlos Casa and Bernardo Ponce Sr., workers exposed to a spill of radioactive cobalt 60 pellets in a Juarez junk yard. Both are experiencing health problems related to radioactive poisoning.

Laurie Coyle (filmmaker): 70% of all nuclear accidents involve low-level sources; such sources as cancer treatment machines, x-ray machines, and industrial inspection devices. European and United States companies sell thousands of these kinds of instruments to the Third World every year. There are very clear indications that we do not have sufficient regulation and enforcement of those sales across our borders. Finally, it's clear that radiation does not respect boundaries.

In 1977, the Methodist Hospital in Lubbock, Texas decided to dispose of a cancer treatment unit that it no longer was using. And in what it believed to be a responsible matter of disposal, it paid a private broker to take it off its hands. That broker turned around and, with considerable profit, sold the machine to a hospital in Juarez, Mexico that was not licensed to receive or operate it. The hospital basically left the machine in a warehouse for seven years until one day an employee of the warehouse cleaned it out, took some parts of the cancer treatment machine and sold them to the junkyard in Juarez, where Carlos and Bernardo were employed. Unbeknownst to them and over 60 employees who were in the junkyards, they were working in the midst of a highly contaminated area—an area contaminated by tiny cobalt pellets that spilled out of the cylinder of the machine. They were not the only ones affected, however, because the truck used to transport the machine scattered cobalt pellets throughout the city of Juarez. Over 500 people were exposed

to radiation in the range of 10 to 600 rads (450 rads is considered to be fatal.)

Bernardo Ponce (translation): We in the city of Juarez have suffered from the worst tragedy that has happened where Latin America begins. We were exposed to

job, I would have to indicate what my last employment was and when I talked to the interviewer, about the place where I had worked, he would almost throw me out because he thought since I was contaminated, I would also contaminate him.

Laurie Coyle: This action was discovered by coincidence. After the junkyard purchased the cancer treatment machine and the cobalt was mixed with scrap metal, they unknowingly sold the contaminated scrap to two foundries which made contaminated or radioactive products out of it. In January 1984, a truck up in the Northern New Mexico area was delivering construction materials to a building site and it accidentally made a wrong turn into Los Alamos (military) Labs. When it set off the alarms, the Lab personnel

assumed or were concerned that somebody was running away from the Lab with dangerous materials. Once they tracked the truck down, they saw that they were dealing with a bunch of reinforcement bars that has a little stamp on that said "A," Aceros de Chihuahua, a foundry in Chihuahua that had used the contaminated metal. Ultimately, the entire Southwest received these materials and several dozens of houses were built with them. In Mexico, unfortunately, the situation was much worse. Hundreds of houses were built with them as well as government buildings. The second foundry that received these materials produces restaurant tables. They exported back to the United States radioactive restaurant tables which were distributed to all 50 states. What goes around comes around and we may think we can wash our hands of our problems by disposing dangerous materials we are no longer using, but in this case, it's literally true that they came back to haunt us. □



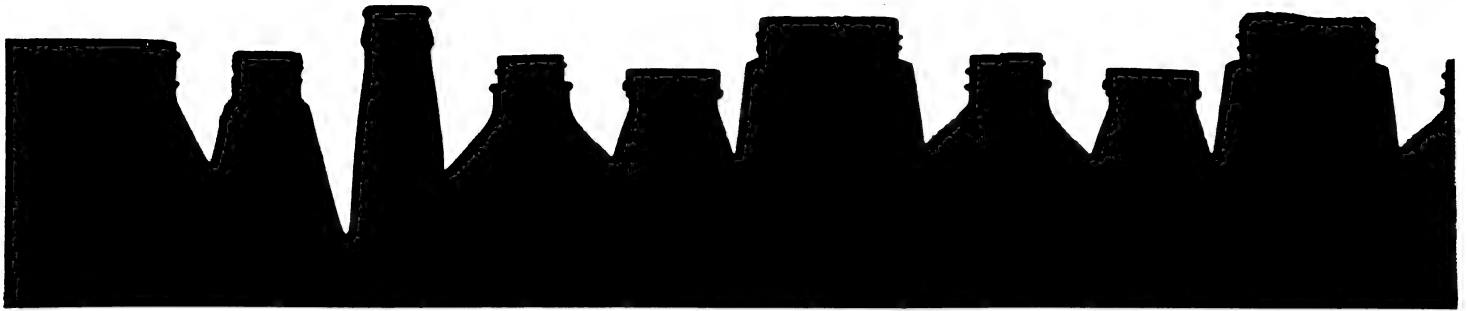
cobalt 60 for three months until it became known. If it affected our blood, it affected our bones and we are in a propensity in the future, of having cancer or leukemia and other harm which can come from it. Authorities (in Mexico and the US) have forgotten about our problem. Several of us over there were also pressured so that we would leave our jobs. Perhaps it was not convenient for our bosses to be there because we were fighting for our rights.

Carlos Casas (translation): We just felt sick at work. We would go to the Social Security and the doctors would say that we were drinking too much and that wasn't true. So when they first discovered that there was radioactive contamination there, the first thing that they did was not allow us to go into work. They gave us some examinations in which they said that we were sick, that the radioactivity had affected our occipital medulla. They made sperm examinations and said that they were also dead. When I went to apply for a



The Perils of Plastics

Jo Ann Gutin



Plastic will soon be to modern Americans nothing less than the basis of our entire material culture. In some form or other we wear it, eat with it, write with it, cover our floors with it, insulate our houses with it—the list is endless. The full-blown epidemic of plastic packaging is hardly more than fifteen years old. In 1960 Americans discarded a mere 400,000 tons of plastic; in 1984 it was 10 million tons. (Plastic wasn't even a category in a trash study done in Berkeley on 1952).

Popular response to the plastic deluge, both here and abroad, has been as spotty as you might expect, given that a whole lifestyle is being reevaluated. West Germany has banned two-liter bottles; a ban on plastic shopping bags goes into effect in Italy at the end of 1991. Six states and thirty-one US cities, have restricted or banned the use of styrofoam. Nebraska has instituted a ban on non-biodegradable disposable diapers, which will go into effect in 1993; Florida has banned non-biodegradable plastic shopping bags; the Wisconsin Solid Waste Management Committee is recommending a ban on plastic grocery bags and polystyrene foam.

Managers of city and private recycling programs all over the country report that people are desperate to recycle their plastic. The word that plastic is recyclable has gotten around. But is it? Most people assume, given the traditional meaning of "recycling," that old two-liter soda bottles become new two-liter bottles. Unfortunately, that's not what happens. Although the resin produced by melting old soft drink bottles is the most high quality plastic resin, if we and the bottle are lucky, it ends up as fiberfill for parkas, carpet backing, or tennis ball fuzz or plastic park benches—but not milk jugs. One of the best fates to which a styrofoam cup can

currently aspire is reincarnation as styrofoam packing pellets. This is metamorphosis, but it's not recycling. Or, in the unintentional oxymoron coined by the plastics industry, it's "linear recycling."

Why can't the most ubiquitous consumer plastics be recycled into new incarnations of themselves?

For one thing, the federal Food and Drug Administration requires that for any food or beverage container to be refilled with food, it must be heated to a very high temperature; plastic won't tolerate that temperature, so it can't be adequately sterilized. Another problem is that some plastic has the tendency to absorb minute quantities of what it contains. Thus if some tidy householder had stored motor oil in a plastic milk jug, and that jug were later recycled into a new milk jug, traces of the motor oil might conceivably leach back into the milk.

Beyond these problems is an even bigger catch: for any kind of plastic recycling to work, plastic trash must be sorted. That's the reason for the separate containers at the plastic drop-offs: one undetected high-density polyethylene (HDPE) milk jug in a load of two-liter polyethylene terephthalate (PET) soda bottles contaminates the resin. The versatility that has enabled plastic to fill so many packaging niches is what makes recycling it so difficult.

There are two classes of plastics, thermosets and thermoplastics. Thermosets are rigid plastics that don't flow when they're reheated, so for all practical purposes they're not recyclable. But these constitute only thirteen percent of plastics production. Thermoplastics, on the other hand, are almost infinitely malleable, because their component molecules "polymerize"; that is, the small molecules combine easily

to form large chains, and those long chains, tangled when cold, slip easily past one another whenever they're heated.

There are somewhere between five hundred and a thousand different thermoplastics. However, almost all packaging materials are made from one of six groups. The catch is that to recycle anything made of any one of these resins, the source material must be homogeneous.

So mingled plastics need to be sorted after collection. If plastic were an intrinsically valuable commodity, that wouldn't be a problem. However, it is not, which is why so much plastic waste is shipped to the Far East, where labor is cheap. (In 1989, between seventy and eighty percent of the post-consumer plastic that was collected for recycling went to buyers in Hong Kong. Some of it is melted down into resin and reshaped; some of it is undoubtedly burned for energy.)

In this country, post-consumer plastic sorting is most often done either by volunteers or by people who are unpaid or paid very little. A large-scale plastics recycling program in Trenton, New Jersey, for example, employs prisoners as plastic sorters. In the Delta town of Pittsburg, a recycling program administered by the nonprofit organization, Many Hands employs unpaid mentally and physically disadvantaged adults to do the plastic sorting.

Where does plastic fit into the garbage deluge?

As the Plastics Institute of America never wearies of pointing out, the bulk of what goes into landfills, by weight, is paper, yard waste, glass, and metal. But when it comes to filling up landfill, weight isn't the issue. According to some estimates, plastic waste is around thirty percent of the wastestream by volume, and shows no

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Precarious Times for Recyclers

Beryl Magilavy, Community Recyclers



There is a paradox developing in recycling programs across North America. As more and more people recycle, the costs of recycling are climbing. Nonprofit recyclers who were the first to the barricades are going out of business. The crux of the problem is that up to now, "recycling" has been limited in most people's minds to "collection." Actually, recycling is a circle: collection, remanufacture, reuse. The complete circle is necessary for any of its parts to be successful.

Earth Day, 1970, roused people around the world to work to improve the environment. Congressional lobbyists set out to draft the first comprehensive environmental laws, and volunteers in cities and towns across America acted locally by starting small neighborhood recycling centers. As the centers grew over the decade, many formalized their status by incorporating themselves as nonprofit organizations. The environmental nonprofits remained virtually the only players in recycling collection until the landfill crisis of the '80's.

In the late 1980's municipal landfills began actually filling up on the East Coast and environmentalists drew attention to similar upcoming problems in the West. Cities, counties and states began to see the need to recycle to divert potential landfill, and the way was opened for public funding of much larger collection programs. These guaranteed sources of funding aroused an interest in recycling on the part of the giant garbage companies, and they have since become the dominant collectors in the United States (and the rest of the world), working under government contract. A few cities, such as Austin, Texas, provide collection services themselves.

All these players in the field of recycling collection, be they self-supporting non-profits or governments trying to keep the taxpayers' fees within reason, have to sell materials to cover the costs of what they do. Each material's price is affected by separate market forces, but all share a fundamental reliance on supply and demand.

The great increase in post-consumer recycling collection in the United States in the last five years has greatly increased the supply, without markedly affecting the demand, for commonly collected material. Ironically, recycling's success has caused prices for many commodities to drop drastically, putting great economic strain on collection programs.

Newspaper is a good case in point. Recycling fundraising drives featuring newspaper used to be a staple of groups like American Youth Hostels and the Boy Scouts. But as cities got into the picture, too, more and more was collected and stockpiles at mills shot up. As a result, old newspaper prices have dropped from a high in California of nearly \$100 a ton in 1988 to sluggish recent sales ranging from \$0 to \$20 a ton. East Coast cities have paid to have it taken away. Demand by paper mills has just not grown to meet the amount of old newspaper available.

Lack of demand for recycled paper has similarly depressed the market for used printing and writing paper. "In 1976 there were 13 de-inking mills in the United States," says David Assman, Vice President and Director of Information at Conservatree Paper Company. "Today there are only five. The last one to close stopped production the week before Earth Day." Printing and writing paper represents

15% of the waste stream, twice as much as newspaper. Collection has risen to 23% from a low of 19% in 1980, and continues to rise with the spread of curbside pick-up despite an overall paper market depressed by a recession-induced excess of virgin paper mill capacity.

Today's collection rates are still below those of earlier in the century, when reuse was common in industry and demand for scrap was high. In 1951, for instance, 32% of printing and writing paper was recycled. Without consumer demand for recycled-content paper, Assman points out, the imbalance will only get worse. The consumer has ultimate control over whether the paper industry will re-invest in de-inking mills to produce recycled-content paper.

Glass has been recycled for a long time, and producers have increased the proportion of recycled content to keep up with collection. Purity specifications have risen dramatically, but prices for clear glass have been fairly stable. Prices for the less popular other colors have been dropping over the last couple of years. At nearly 60% recycled content in California, however, the market cannot absorb much greater collection levels unless glass is used for products other than containers.

The success story among recycled materials has been aluminium. Recycling expert David Buzby comments, "In the '60's and '70's, aluminium producers realized that one of the things they could do to compete with steel cans would be, if they could have a recyclable product, they

would have a more attractive product." Recycled aluminium not only has public relations appeal, but reduces manufacturer's energy costs by more than 95%. An



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WE CAN: Helping the Poor and Homeless Help Themselves.

A profile from Environmental Exchange

New York law mandates that any beverage container sold in the state has a return value of five cents, and many of the city's poor and homeless make a livelihood from redeeming containers discarded as trash. One redemption center in New York City, WE CAN, has thus far paid out \$4.5 million to the city's poor.

Guy Polhemus thought of the WE CAN concept when he was volunteering in a church soup kitchen. Homeless people were coming to the kitchen to eat, but dragging behind hundreds of dirty cans and bottles.

People who collected cans and bottles for their livelihood could receive money efficiently and without any hassles. WE CAN accepts from anybody, unlimited quantities of cans and bottles, paying full value in return. The first center opened its doors in 1987. Polhemus has since established another center, and two more are set to open in the near future.

Each day roughly 500 people return containers to WE CAN. The typical redeemer collects 700 containers a day, which translates into \$35, a significant amount to those who might not otherwise

reach sector of society—the homeless.

"Now poor and homeless people are running the centers, they are managing the centers, and they are helping other homeless people get back on their feet," says Polhemus.

WE CAN's services also relieve city landfill burdens by collecting more than 10,000 tons of solid waste—street waste and litter that would otherwise end up in landfills. Before WE CAN, New York City had a very low level of container redemption. Guy Polhemus and the homeless are helping to change all of that.

"WE CAN centers could be replicated in any state with a buy-back law," says Polhemus. Considering that literally every city has a problem with waste, unemployment, and homelessness, that's not a bad idea.

Contact: WE CAN, Guy Polhemus,
603 9th Avenue New York, NY 10036
(212) 262-2222

The Environmental Exchange, is a national nonprofit organization that collects and disseminates information about effective environmental action. Each year Environmental Exchange analyzes trends in environmental action. They publish their findings in What Works: The Guide to Environmental Action.

They are always looking for examples of effective grassroots actions taken to protect or improve the environment. To share information about efforts in your community, or to find out more about the group's database and other services, contact: The Environmental Exchange, 1930 18th St N.W., Suite #24, Washington, D.C. 20009; (202) 387-2182.

For information on
recycling in Japan and
Vienna, see pages 38-39



"It was hit or miss," explains Polhemus. "One store would take only five containers; others were taking twenty, but for only two cents a can. Stores would accept returnables on some days but not on others, and some stores didn't cooperate at all. The homeless were coming to the soup kitchen with their cans and bottles because they didn't want to throw them out. After they ate their meals, they would continue running around trying to redeem their empties

Polhemus founded WE CAN so people

have any income. A number of redeemers have moved into housing with money earned from redeeming cans and bottles.

Not only does WE CAN provide money, it also provides jobs. Depending on the season, 50 to 100 people staff the redemption centers. Many could not otherwise find work and have moved on to other full-time jobs.

WE CAN also offers outreach services, including legal advice and counseling, and referrals for food, clothing, shelter and medical care. It offers all of this to a hard

The Power Of Compost

Doron Amiran

In a world of bloody wars, horrific injustices, and environmental degradation of unprecedented scale, why should we care about home composting? Because composting holds the answers to the dilemmas and problems of the modern world.

The transformation of dead plant matter, from the kitchen or garden, back into soil, is the most fundamentally ecological thing we can do. It is fundamentally ecological because it reconnects us to the natural cycles, it eliminates the artificial barriers that urban and suburban life have erected between us and the environment, and it restores wholeness to our lives.

Across the country, cities and towns are turning to composting as a means of reducing solid waste and saving landfill space and money. Many municipalities collect yard waste at the curb, along with bottles and cans, and truck the materials to central facilities. At these multi-acre facilities materials are ground up, moistened, piled up and then turned with bulldozers or special turning machines. After a few weeks or months, depending on the level of technology, the compost is ready for market. These programs are a form of recycling. This is good.

Even better than this, far better, is the home compost heap. Here you collect your orange peels, your coffee grounds and filters, your moldy bread, and you save your fallen leaves, your grass clippings, and you mix—some brown, some green, some wet, some dry. Moisten the mixture and let nature run its course. An expertly built heap will heat up to 160 degrees Fahrenheit, and can be finished in as little as two weeks, if turned daily. A more casual heap, unturned, may take a year to decompose. As long as dry, brown materials are mixed with the goopy green ones, and no meat, bones or excessive dairy products are added, flies and rats will show no interest in your heap and it will slowly devolve into the rich, dark, crumbly soil plants love so much.

To do all this in our own back yards is to complete the cycle, to re-cycle in the truest sense of the word. If you consider that recycling in its common usage,

for all its benefits over burning or burying garbage, still relegates aluminum, paper and glass to an "away" where they can be dealt with, then its potential for transforming how we extract our living from the land is seriously diminished. Home composting, on the other hand, has no "away."

Walt Whitman invoked us to "behold this compost, behold it well!" Rightly so, for in it lie all the mysteries of nature: death, decay, regeneration, rebirth and life. The wheel of life is slowly turning, even as we bury another banana peel in the middle of the heap.

Where else in our lives do we have such opportunity for wholeness? Plant a seed, watch it grow with water, air, earth and sun, harvest the fruit, return the peel and the pit, the leaf and the stem into the compost pile, let it rot, spread the compost in the garden, plant a new seed. So simple, so harmonious, so powerful in the face of a culture of conspicuous consumption.

Black Elk told us over a century ago that "everything the Power of the World



does is done in a circle." To begin to live that circle in the city or the suburbs we need only gather our scraps and add them to the humble heap.

Doron Amiran teaches composting as a Trainer and Consultant with the Alameda County Home Composting Education Program in California. He can be reached at his home: (415) 658-8317 □

Where is "away" anyway?

- The US paper recycling rate is 35% lower today than it was in 1951.

- The US EPA calls paper made from sawdust recycled paper and does not require recycled paper to contain any waste paper generated by consumers. Meaning that all paper used by federal, state and local governments could be made to meet EPA standards for recycled paper and still not reduce the amount of paper going to landfills by one truckload.!

- The number of usable landfill sites in the US has dropped by two-thirds in the last 11 years. One-third of our remaining landfills will be closed by 1995.

- The largest single component of landfill is paper, and the largest category of paper is printing and writing (office) paper—taking up more than twice the

amount of space as newsprint.

- Only one-fifth of 1% of printing and writing paper used by American consumers is recycled back into printing and writing paper!

- The world's largest human-made structure is the Fresh Kill landfill on Staten Island (it's even bigger than the Great Wall of China)

- The making of white paper in the US almost always creates dioxin—one of the most toxic chemicals on earth - along with 1,000 other potentially hazardous compounds.

- Curbside collection programs don't necessarily help stimulate recycling; unless its newsprint, your paper is almost as likely to be exported as recycled.

Source: Conservatree Paper Co. 10 Lombard St., Ste 250, S.F. CA, 94111.



The Automotive Column

by Charles Varon



Editor's Note: The search process for a new automotive editor is at a transition point. Over the past two and a half years, several candidates for the position privately shared their fears that Americans, and particularly Green activists, live full, fast-paced lives, with a bare minimum of time left for reading. Given this, they wondered whether the title of this column, "The Automotive Column," would be sufficiently compelling to arrest an average reader thumbing through this publication.

Thus, as we continue to look for a new editor, we are also considering changing the title of the column itself. Two suggestions so far are "On the Road to a New Society" and "Internal Combustion." There is some opposition to the latter, which could be interpreted as a reference to the infighting that has alas characterized many efforts to transform the society.

Question: I've been reading a lot about "direct action" by environmental groups, everything from tree-spiking to sabotage of genetic engineering experiments. I'm curious: has there been any direct action against the manufacture and use of automobiles? Or are they too obvious a target?

Response: Ecological sabotage of automobiles, or "cartage," may actually pre-date tree-spiking. According to environmental movement historian Christopher Halibut-Potemkin, in 1981 and 1982 police throughout the United States received reports of over 300 "automotive death threats."

Mailed to car owners in cities as far apart as Minneapolis, Los Angeles and New Orleans, the notes advised owners that their license plate had been selected at random from DMV rolls, listed a date and time the car would be bombed, and urged owners to "consider taking public transportation" that day. Four separate environmental

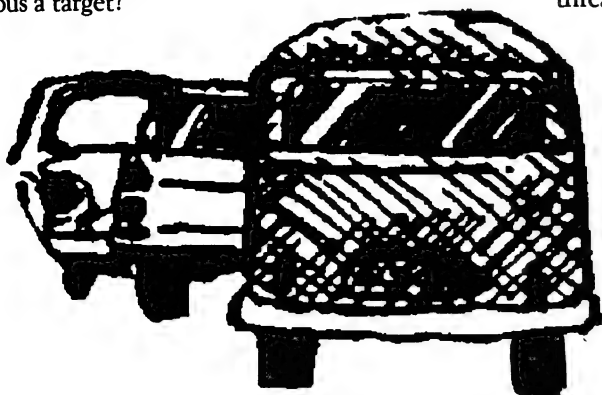
terrorist groups claimed credit for the action, but not a single bombing ever occurred.

Of the four organizations, two are believed to be still active. The Vehicle Liberation Front (VLF) has become a study group on Marxism, feminism, and technology; it is also said to coordinate a network of car theft rings that ships hot autos to Sri Lanka and Surinam.

Little is known about the February 28th Movement (F28), a mobile guerrilla group whose charismatic leader, Julia Fretful-Cogent, has advocated pushing a tenth of the developed world's automobiles off a cliff once every four years. F28's slogans, spray-painted widely throughout the Midwest and in southern Utah, mainly derive from the group's calendrical origins. They include "Take a great leap backward!" and "Leap before you look!"

Luddite Vanguard was disbanded in 1985 following the disappearance of Supreme Luddite Beverly Turnkey-Agvaniah. It is rumored that Turnkey-Agvaniah has a new identity and is now working as an executive for a major insurance company, attempting to drive up auto rates as a means of making car ownership accessible to fewer people.

The final group, a precursor of Earth First!, was known as Cars Last!. Mistaken by many for a pro-industry faction, Cars Last! changed its name in 1986 to Cars Don't Last! and ceased operation shortly thereafter.



EXPERTS CRITICIZE SUPERFUND

Learning to Live With Toxic Waste

By Frank Violano
Chronicle Staff Writer

A growing number of environmental experts, adding a new charge to the criticisms directed at the Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund, say that the cleanup of the nation's hazardous waste sites may not be worth completing — and that the public must learn to live with some level of toxic pollution.

would generate," said John C. Topping, a former EPA staff director and president of the Climate Institute, which studies global warming dangers. "You can easily put \$70 million into the ground at one of the (Superfund) sites without yielding any social benefits whatsoever."

No, this headline isn't a joke—it's torn from the San Francisco Chronicle. And it's the "news" that most Americans are getting...

Please—Support Alternative Media!



A Knife in the Back for Eddie Hatcher

On September 18, Tuscarora Indian Eddie Hatcher was stabbed in the back four times by another inmate at the Correctional institute in Troy, North Carolina. His lung was punctured and collapsed, causing him to be hospitalized.

In an earlier incident, an inmate who had assaulted him was rewarded with a transfer from maximum to medium security confinement.

In February, 1988, in response to an epidemic of racial violence and murders of Indians and Blacks in Robeson County, North Carolina, to the corruption of law enforcement and public officials which has bathed the county in harmful drugs, and in response to threats to his own life, Eddie Hatcher sought help from federal govern-

ment agencies. To make his point, he took the desperate step of seizing and holding the offices of a local newspaper in order to publicize the extreme situation in Robeson County.

Eddie surrendered under certain conditions that were acceptable to the governor of North Carolina. He was tried and acquitted on all charges in federal court. Seven weeks later he was re-indicted on state charges of kidnapping. Fearing for his life, he fled North Carolina.

Under the severe conditions of prison control, Eddie has taken on the causes of dozens of fellow inmates, writing and filing legal briefs on their behalf. He is in prison now because his constitutional protection against double jeopardy was abrogated when North Carolina indicted him following his acquittal in federal court.

The Robeson Defense Commit-

tee, founded by his mother, Thelma Clark, continues to work for racial justice in Robeson County, and publishes the *North Carolina Prison News*.

People are urged to send letters of concern to: Superintendent Michael Bumgarner, Southern Correctional Institute, Troy, NC 27371. Letters to Eddie can be sent to Box 786 at the Southern Correctional Institute address. For more information, call the West Coast Eddie Hatcher Defense Committee at (510) 834-7208. Funds to support the struggle for protection and justice for Eddie Hatcher should be directed to: Robeson Defense Committee, PO Box 1389, Pembroke, NC 28372.



Western Shoshone Head Off the BLM

The battle of the Western Shoshone Nation to be recognized as stewards of their ancestral lands, with legal title and rights of use and access, reached a critical point last June. After seventeen years in the federal court system, and three trips to the U.S. Supreme Court, Mary and Carrie Dann were declared trespassers on Thursday June 6th, 1991.

The Dann Band, (an extended family) live on land that has sustained them and their ancestors for centuries. Like many Western Shoshone, the Dann Band rely on raising livestock and traditional food gathering, hunting and gardening for their self-sufficient livelihood. The Western Shoshone Nation have been exercising their rights of ownership on Great Basin lands since well before there was U.S. law to deprive them of that right.

In recent history, leaders of the Western Shoshone have been protecting their lands from many threats including the proposed Yucca Mountain high level nuclear waste dump, the Nevada Test Site that has contaminated the air, water and communities, and countless other military, government and corporate hazards. The Western Shoshone Nation's homeland, Newe Segobia, is the most bombed nation on the planet, under attack by "tests" of many of

the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries.

Peace and Friendship

In 1863 the US government signed the Treaty of Ruby Valley, a treaty of "peace and friendship" with the Western Shoshone. The act of signing a treaty recognizes the Western Shoshone as a sovereign nation and acknowledges title to the land they hold in common. Article 6 of the United States Constitution accords treaties the same legal status as the Constitution, making them the "Supreme Law of the Land." The United States government has violated all 371 treaties it has signed with Indian nations.

In 1973 a federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) official served the Dann sisters with a trespass notice and the BLM proceeded to file trespass charges against them for grazing their approximately 1,000 cattle and horses on land claimed by the federal government. Carrie Dann asserts that they have been "grazing cattle on these lands since we were girls, just as our grandmothers did before us. We have always used our treaty lands without paying fees or getting federal permits. I am grazing livestock on land which the federal government claims, but which we own."

During the final court hearing in the seventeen year battle with the U.S. BLM, the Danns rejected the concept of individual aboriginal title and advocated tribal title on behalf of the Western Shoshone Nation. Rather than allow the charges of the BLM to break down tribal claims to individual claims, the Dann's strategy has jeopardized their personal livelihood, while maintaining the integrity of the Western Shoshone as a nation.

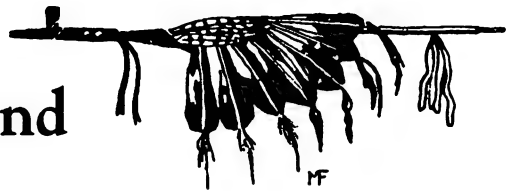
A communiqué from the Western Shoshone National Council asserts that the Council views the US Government action as an act of genocide and is filing a formal complaint in the Federal Court under the Proxmire Act.

The Western Shoshone Nation is calling for support from everyone. People may be needed as witnesses of BLM encroachment. People must come self-sufficient and willing to comply to the rules of the Western Shoshone Nation.

Letters of support and protest are needed to congressional representatives and the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

For more information, contact: the Western Shoshone National Council, PO Box 140068, Duckwater, Nevada 89314; (702) 863-0227, fax: (702) 863-0301.

Lenni-Lenape/Delaware Indians and Allies Confront the Myth of Christopher Columbus



Marie Bloom

"I know about suffering. My people have suffered at least as much, maybe more, than your people have..." So said the Italian-American businessman to the Apache Indian, sitting at a round table conference table in Philadelphia City Council's caucus room on a warm September morning.

It became clear to us as the meeting went on that nothing was sinking in. We failed to get the Italian-American community leaders to understand that we were not just talking about a few "bad deeds," but genocide, the destruction of entire peoples and cultures. We failed in our effort to convince them that there are other Italian-American navigators whose historic contributions we would proudly celebrate with them.

What is at stake here in Philadelphia are street signs. Two years ago, City Council voted unanimously to rename Delaware Avenue, a major thoroughfare running parallel to the Delaware River, "Christopher Columbus Boulevard."

There are two problems with this decision. One, Delaware Avenue shares its name with the Delaware Indians; after the coming of the Europeans, the original people of this region — the Lenni-Lenape — began to call themselves Delaware Indians, and the name sticks to this day. Two, Christopher Columbus perpetrated brutality on a massive scale against the native people he "discovered," in particular the Arawak Indians. No Arawak people survive today to tell of his governorship of their island, but he enslaved them; "gave" an Arawak woman to his lieutenant with the clear understanding that she could/should be raped; ordered the hands cut off of any Native person over 14 years who failed to bring in a quota of gold; had Arawak Indians hung in groups to resemble the Apostles...until, thirty years after he discovered them, the

entire Arawak population (estimated at 1/2 to 5 million people) had been killed. It was that same year, 1522, that Columbus himself began to transport African people as slaves to the New World.

The third problem with the City council decision to rename Delaware Ave was that in an effort to deny the possibility of opposition,



backers of the bill convinced themselves that there was none. It helped, of course, to not invite opposition groups to the final hearing about the bill until less than 24 hours before the hearing.

The neighborhoods along Delaware Avenue organized. The United American Indians of Delaware Valley mobilized. A march was held, and one picture was printed in the Philadelphia Enquirer. But they were told that there was nothing they could do.

Phase two began a year and a half later when the original opponents of the name change had pretty much given up hope. A few progressives with an anti-racist focus,

bioregionalists and Native American rights supporters found out about the outrage planned by City Hall, and called a meeting to Stop the Name Change. We drew up a petition, planned rallies and met repeatedly with City Council.

A hard piece of work has been connecting this seemingly obscure and utterly unpublicized issue with other issues of concern to people of color and working-class people in the city: homelessness, health care, unemployment benefits, and the fact that the city is bankrupt. And yet the connections are there. City Council's plan to waste taxpayers' money on a racial insult outrages many Philadelphians when they are told about it, including white middle-class Philadelphians.

We were offered a compromise: keep the original name for the north half of Delaware Avenue, and rename only the south half, which runs through predominantly Italian-American South Philly, "Christopher Columbus Blvd."

We offered a different suggestion: keep the name of Delaware Avenue for its full length, but let us help celebrate the contribution of Giovanni Verazanno, who (unlike Columbus) actually explored and mapped this region, and who wrote admiringly of the peaceful, healthy culture of the Lenni-Lenape people.

Some of our next steps include getting women together to share our histories, and creative direct action is being considered by a number of segments in the community, if the Christopher Columbus signs are actually erected. Most importantly, we are fostering a chance for people to get to know each other, and especially for Philadelphia to begin to notice, to learn from, to respect and listen to Native people in our midst. Under the surface issue of the

continued to page 23



New York City's Class War Zone

Police Army Invades Tompkins Square Park

by Bill Weinberg

New York City's Tompkins Square Park, a historic community gathering place on the Lower East Side, spent the summer under the grip of an occupying army. "It looks like Nazi Germany," said a member of the local Community Board soon after the June 3 police seizure of the park. "Every three feet there's a cop."

Having evicted scores of homeless people, hundreds of police, many toting or wearing riot gear, stood guard 24 hours a day around the park. Police barricades and an eight-foot-tall chain-link fence enclosed the public area.

Activists see the police occupation of the park, located on the Lower East Side, or the East Village as it has been increasingly called since gentrification, as part of a broad attack against the community. Real estate speculators have been attempting for the past decade to redesign the neighborhood for yuppie condominiums. On June 3, the city Redistricting Commission approved new City Council district lines for the Lower East Side that would cut it off from the predominantly working-class Chinatown to the south, and link it to the upscale Gramercy Park neighborhood to the northwest. Many neighborhood residents fear that the large Puerto



Rican and Dominican communities will be further squeezed out, along with hundreds of squatters who in recent years have taken over abandoned buildings.

The park no longer serves as a cultural or organizing center for the Lower East Side. "It is the collective living room of everyone in this neighborhood,"

says Lori Rizzo, an anarchist and local organizer. "We have small apartments. If you want to see your friends, you go to a bar or to the park. They've made it impossible for people to communicate with each other. The whole concept of people's power is in the park...[It] was a venue for alter-

native expression."

Tompkins Square Park has come to symbolize the conflict sparked by the brutal wave of gentrification that inflated rent in the community during the 1980s. The homeless people who had established a modern-day Hooverville on the common grounds were swept away when the park was seized.

The treatment of homeless people in New York City is part of a larger national trend to criminalize a social problem. Chicago's O'Hare Airport has been closed to the homeless; sleeping in public streets has been banned in Santa Barbara, California; and homeless people have been evicted from a park across the street from San Francisco's City Hall.

A city official admitted that Mayor David Dinkins' policy was to "turn down the comfort level in public places" for homeless people. The city is attempting to force the homeless into overcrowded, disease-ridden public shelters. And while the city is spending over \$100,000 a day to maintain the police state around Tompkins Square, the mayor's "doomsday" budget eliminates walk-in clinics and ten



Top, *Hands Around the Park*, June 8th; Bottom, *street action near the Park*. Photos c.1991, David Sorcher



Berkeley Community Fights University Over Peoples Park Development

On the morning of July 31st, the University of California launched its ground campaign against Peoples Park, a plot of land which UC has long claimed to own. The bulldozer arrived at 8 am, accompanied by dozens of riot police, to break ground for what will undoubtedly become the most expensive volleyball courts in history.

The assault was not unexpected. The University and the moderate city government had been negotiating for months, and despite warnings from the Peoples Park Defense Union that we would not tolerate any University-sponsored construction on our land, the various official parties had signed an agreement permitting UC to destroy the grassy middle of the park—the only area large enough for a concert or rally—and replace it with little-needed recreational courts.

Peoples Park was established in 1969, after the University leveled a block of low-income housing in the south campus area. Vietnam-era activists battled police and bureaucrats for several years before the University finally stopped destroying every attempt to beautify the vacant block. From the early 1970s until the present, the park has been a hub of homeless organizing and a center of Southside political agitation, including free concerts, rallies, smoke-ins, urban gardening, and more.

Most of all, it has stood for the free speech that Berkeley has been so proud of since the Free Speech Movement of 1964. It is this symbolism that the University most wants to destroy.

Emboldened by the gentrification of the area and by an appeasing city government, the University at last decided to try to retake the park. Phase one is to build athletic courts, but in five years the Uni-

versity can submit new plans—for highrise dormitories.

Nonviolence and Violence

The initial assault was met by determined nonviolent resistance. A hundred people had vigiled through the night after hearing rumors of the attack, and 36 were

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Love and war at Peoples Park. The barricades in the background surround the volleyball site. Photo by Vincent Goldberg, c.1991.

homeless shelters.

A Center of Protest

A week prior to the police occupation, a Memorial Day concert at the park's bandshell organized by local squatters and housing activists exploded into a riot after witnesses say police assaulted two people without provocation. Protesters took over an adjacent street, setting bonfires and halting traffic. One local shop was also looted. While streets surrounding the park have often been occupied by protesters over the past several years in confrontations with police, this was the first time looting occurred. Local activists suspect the looting may have been the work of

paid provocateurs, since City Hall used this as a rationale for the park's closure.

Tompkins Square Park has been a center of protest ever since police rioted in August 1988, indiscriminately beating scores of protesters and innocent bystanders. The battle, which raged until dawn, was sparked by resistance to the 1 am curfew that then-mayor Ed Koch had imposed on the city's parks. In the melee's aftermath, the Community Board approved a resolution against any curfew in the park—making it the only one in the city open at all times.

Squatters and Anarchists

Many vacant buildings in the area,

which were abandoned by their owners during the urban decay of the 1970s, have been occupied by squatters, who have also turned empty lots into community gardens. The squatters and their supporters, many of them anarchists, were at the forefront of the resistance to the curfew, and continue to oppose gentrification.

Anarchists also battled police when the city attempted to remove the "Tent City" set up by homeless people in the park in 1989. The homeless have been evicted from the park twice by police but returned a few days later each time.

The seizure of the park spurred a re-

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The "Campaign to End Homophobia" Conference

Challenging Oppressions: Creating Multicultural Communities

by Micki Leventhal

The Campaign to End Homophobia (CEH), an organization founded in the wake of the Supreme Court's 1986 *Hardwick* decision, held its third North American conference, "Challenging Oppressions: Creating Multicultural Communities," in Chicago July 5-7.

There were three days of panels and action-oriented workshops designed to define and discuss societal oppressions as well as develop strategies and tools for societal change.

Panel participants represented a cross-section of the gay, lesbian and bisexual community.

Darnell Bonds, co-chair of the Chicago Coalition for Black Lesbians and Gays, focused on homophobia in the African-American community and the economic realities facing African-Americans. Both conditions make the coming-out process complex for Black lesbians and gays.

The need for coalition among communities was addressed by Art and AIDS activist David Acosta, who sees "all the indications of [the U.S.] moving to a fascist state... We are going to lose a great deal of our freedoms in the years to come," he stated, and we need to "stop thinking about separatist issues. We need to connect the dots." Acosta emphasized the need to work on all issues. "What good are gay and lesbian rights if we don't have an ozone layer?"

Rachele Pope, whose field is Multicultural Organizational Development, spoke of her coming-to-consciousness as a biracial, bisexual female and stressed the importance of viewing identity not as a static photograph but as an ever-evolving

video. Pope discussed the need to make room for multiple-identified people. They should not have to choose a primary identity or answer the question, "which are you more?"

Latino AIDS activist Robert Vazquez Pacheco discussed radical cultural politics. "Questioning everything is the only way we're going to change the system. We need to locate our politics within our soul, our spirit, in order to make effective cultural change."

Loraine Hutchins, bisexual activist and co-editor of the anthology *Bi Any Other Name* [see review on page 55 of this issue], demanded respect and validation for bisexual orientation. "When gay people agree with heterosexism's myth that there

is a fence around which two opposites...are opposed, then gay people are also complicit in perpetuating the myth that we do not exist. And this myth curtails everyone's freedom."

At Sunday's closing plenary some grievances were aired. Incoming national co-ordinator Joan Schuman said that the steering committee is working on the issues raised. Despite the fact that, as Joan said, "It's not paradise and we do have troubles," the people involved in CEH seem truly determined to effect the kinds of change that can only make all of our lives better.

Contact the Campaign to End Homophobia, (617) 868-8280.



ACT UP Protests Bush's Vacation from AIDS



Over 1500 people disrupted President Bush's Kennebunkport, Maine vacation on September 1st to protest the government's inaction on the AIDS crisis. The demonstration was sponsored by the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, ACT UP.

"We are coming to Kennebunkport to bring the AIDS crisis home—quite literally—to George Bush," said James Baggett of ACT UP New York. "We are angry because President Bush has chosen to take a vacation from the AIDS epidemic for the past eleven years."

ACT UP/Maine members took over the steeple of the South Congregational Church and unfurled a banner reading "Ask Not For Whom the Bell Tolls." The church had refused to allow persons with AIDS to use the church grounds as a resting place during the demonstration.

The protest started with a press conference and rally. One speaker took issue with Bush's reference last April to infants with AIDS as "innocent victims." "There are no guilty victims," said John Greenberg. "Only you, Mr. Bush!"

The demonstration moved through the streets of Kennebunkport. A heavy police presence, turning away many cars from the city, disrupted the commercial district during the busiest weekend of the vacation season. The marchers headed towards Walker's Point, where Bush's vacation home is located, but were stopped by police. Protesters then blocked the street with a die-in.

The Education President Visits Lewiston, Maine

The next day, Bush visited Lewiston High School in Maine. Forty people, including many students, gathered to protest Bush's AIDS policies, but were kept far from the President in a mockery of free speech. One high school junior who wasn't allowed to see Bush commented, "He's afraid we'll ask too many intelligent questions."

Angered by their lack of access and free speech, several protesters, including one carrying a giant puppet of Bush with bloody hands, refused to stay in the roped

off protest area. Nine people, including ACT UP members and college students, were arrested.

On to Philadelphia

A dozen AIDS protesters were arrested in the aftermath of a police rampage when Bush visited Philadelphia on September 12th for a \$1000-a-plate fundraiser. Activists suggested that the police violence was a reprisal for AIDS protesters having seized the podium during a press conference held by former attorney General Dick Thornberg on August 29.

The Philadelphia protest included

The local AIDS Law Project and the ACLU are providing legal support for those arrested.

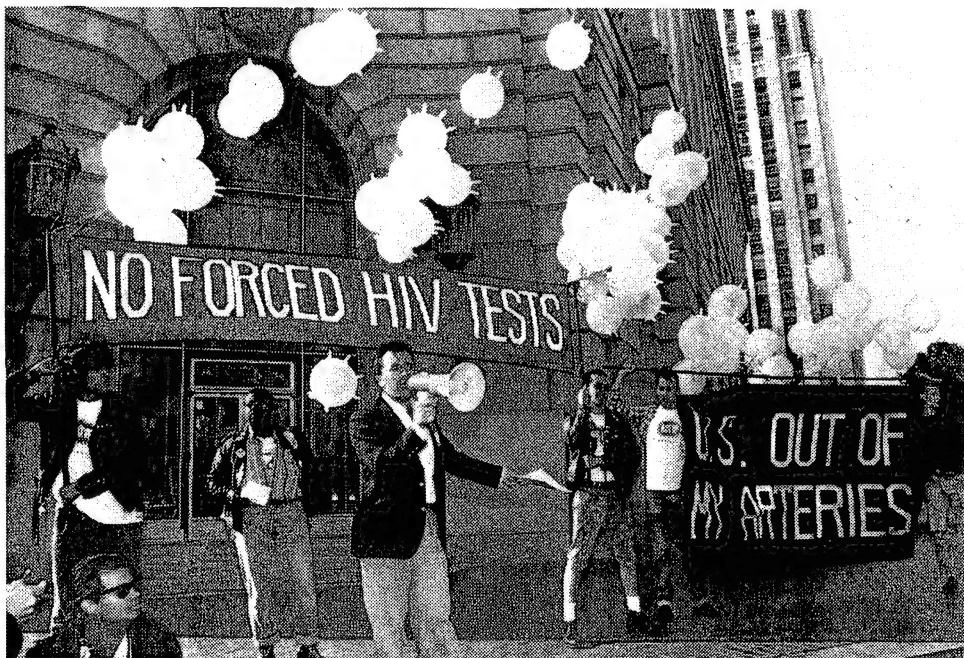
For more information, contact:

ACT UP/Maine: 207-774-7224 or
207-774-5082.

ACT UP/New York: 212-564-2437

ACT UP/Philadelphia: 215-925-7121

*Edited by George Franklin from the San Francisco Sentinel, Boston Globe and Lewiston Sun-Journal.
Thanks to C.T. Butler.*



ACT UP San Francisco takes to the streets to protest mandatory HIV testing of health care workers. Also in San Francisco, over 5000 people marched in anger after the governor vetoed gay rights legislation in late September. Photo c.1991, Jane Cleland.

thousands of unionists, pro-choice demonstrators, and AIDS activists. When the march reached the Bellevue Hotel where Bush was speaking, it was met by a heavy and aggressive police presence. When some protesters began a die-in, the riot police attacked, beating many people. "They kept asking the people who were bleeding if they had AIDS. There was a lot of queer baiting," said one organizer.

Green Letter welcomes articles, photos, and newstips about ACT UP, Queer Nation, and other groups organizing around gay/lesbian/bisexual issues. Send to PO Box 14141, SF, CA 94114.



Chippewa Spearfishing Rights

Witness for Nonviolence: Green Politics in Action

by Rick Whaley, Milwaukee Greens

Chippewa cultural harvesting rights and non-violent activism have finally prevailed in northern Wisconsin. After years of racial backlash to off-reservation spearfishing, which included racial taunts, rock throwing, gunfire and pipe bombs, protest leader Dean Crist threw in the towel.

Education and support from witnesses and allies has proven all the anti-fishing protesters' arguments groundless. Fish depletion is a non-issue. Northern Wisconsin fishery is in good shape. Tourism is a non-issue. The tourist seasons for the last two years have set records. These facts have been argued by Chippewa activists, witnesses and Green supporters for five years, but now they have gained acceptance in government, press and popular opinion.

This solidarity movement has brought people from all walks of life, from across our country and some countries abroad to the boat landings to be part of this historic drama in northern Wisconsin. Close to 2000 witnesses have been trained in the philosophy of non-violence, the strategy and discipline of non-violence in northern Wisconsin, treaty history, and cultural and environmental issues in northern Wisconsin.

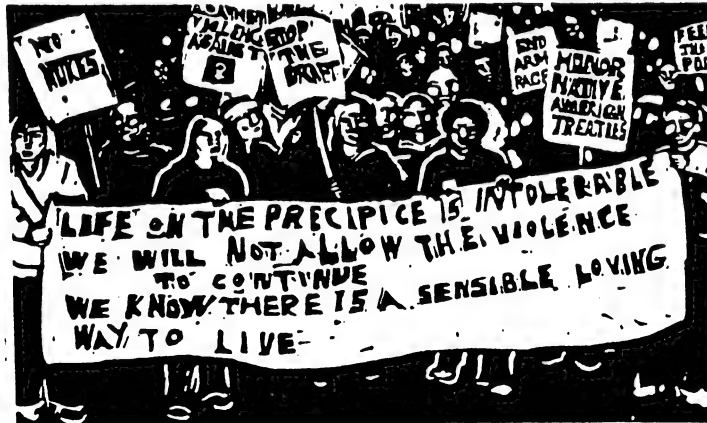
And our cause is known nationally in Green circles because of the work of Walt Bresette and the Milwaukee and Wisconsin Greens.

1991 has been a turning point year for

American witness coordinator were physically and verbally harassed for hours) to weeknights of an hour's worth of insults followed by a fizzling crowd scene.

Judge Crabb affirmed Chippewa sov-

ereignty in form but not substance, especially in regards to sustainable economic development and resource protection off-reservation. We are hopeful that our one major success, non-violent interven-



Chippewa treaty rights, in good and bad respects. In March 91, Judge Crabb issued a permanent injunction against protesters interfering physically, on lake or at landings, with Lac du Flambeau spearing. Almost no on-lake harassment took place this year. Boat landing protests ranged from one terrible night at Sand Lake (where Chippewa families and an African-

tion by allies of Native Americans, can continue to be a model for our work on related issues:

Protect Clean Water/Stop the Mines: We'd like to encourage all witnesses to get involved in the struggle against the Ladysmith mine and others planned for the ceded territory. Contact Milwaukee Greens Mining Task Force: (414) 332-8435 or 463-7611.

Education and healing work around the 500 Years of Resistance and Dignity (counter-Columbus Quincentennial) and lobbying on behalf of other Native American issues. (Contact HONOR, Box 09685, Milwaukee, 53209; (414) 963-1324.)

Urban Witnessing: What would it mean to do this in our city to lessen the violence? How can we transfer what we learned up north and what alliances can we build on? If you are interested in exploring this idea, contact Bruce Hinkforth, (414) 744-6389.

Resources and mementos available from the Witness include: Witness Training Manual (\$10); New People poster, drawn by Nick Hockings (\$10); "500 Years of Conquest" poster (\$3.50). Order from 3026 N. 38th St., Milwaukee, WI 53210.

Voice of the Turtle

A Bioregionalist Newsletter

Voice of the Turtle is a quarterly newsletter containing reports on Bioregional Congresses, updates on related news, and articles on bioregionalist activity and philosophy.

Articles, reports and announcements are welcome, and can be sent to Marie Dolcini, c/o Planet Drum Foundation, PO Box 31251, San Francisco CA 94131.

Subscriptions are available at \$8 for four quarterly issues, c/o Alpha Farm, Deadwood OR 97430.





Forced Silence In the Land of “Free Speech”

Less than twenty years after the Supreme Court ruled that women would have the right to safe and legal abortions, moves are once again being made to restrict women's rights.

Last May the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in favor of a decision that gives the federal government the right to prohibit federally funded family planning and medical clinics from advising women on abortion. The *Rust v. Sullivan* decision, also known as the “gag rule,” is currently in effect in every state in the US. This ruling will mainly affect poor women who do not have access to privatized medical care.

There are two bills being reviewed in the House and Senate that would overturn this ruling. While it is expected that both bills will pass, there is not enough support in Congress to override President Bush's expected veto.

The parental consent law is another way in which young women are being restricted from having abortions. Under this law, women 18 years of age and younger must receive the consent of at least one parent or get a judicial by-pass in order to have an abortion. To date, 33 states have adopted this regulation, with California currently pending. Already two women have died: Becky Bell of Indiana died from complications following a self-induced abortion; and Spring Adams was shot to death by her father after she told him she was pregnant. Other effects of the law have been a rise in the number of abortions in neighboring states, an increase in trimester abortions caused by delays in court and an increase in teen motherhood. In Minnesota, for example, the birth rate among women aged 15-17 rose 38% after parental consent was put into effect.

There will be a full report and update of women's rights and health in our next issue.

Kristy Lee, *Green Letter*

Aqua Terra: Water Concepts for the Ecological Society

Aqua Terra is an exceptional new journal. As a participatory publication, it combines environmental, ecological and metaphysical approaches toward water. After twelve years of working as clean water advocates, Jacqueline Froelich and Barbara Harmony are realizing their symbiotic relationship with water and earth. *Aqua Terra* is a simple, beautifully-illustrated expression of these realized water/earth concepts for the third millennium.

Priced at \$5.95 or at a bulk rate of \$3 each (minimum order of five), proceeds from sales of this journal benefit the Water Center, a non-profit clean water advocacy organization which was founded in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, a small village in the mountains of the Ozark bioregion.

Contact *Aqua Terra* c/o The Water Center, Route 3, Box 716, Eureka Springs, Arkansas, 72632.





Communities Charge the EPA as Racist

On July 31st, the Southwest Network For Environmental and Economic Justice formally charged the Environmental Protection Agency with racism. They wrote a letter to Administrator William Reilly with copies sent to three Regional Administrators, elected officials, and a number of social justice organizations. The following is an excerpt from that letter...

It has been well documented that people of color in the United States suffer disproportionately from toxic contamination. We are deliberately targeted through racism, sexism and a lack of economic and social justice.... The severe economic impacts include loss of resources—clean water, land, air and our communities.

Since the inception of the United States Environmental Protection Agency, we have requested assistance from the Agency to alleviate these disproportionate impacts from which we suffer. To the discredit of the EPA, we have seen many requests and pleas fall on deaf ears. More-

over, we have seen the EPA pursue policies which themselves have been detrimental to us and to communities of people of color in general.

Despite the fact that for years it was known that lead poisoning inordinately impacts inner-city youth—primarily youth of color—no action was taken by the EPA until studies confirmed that suburban children were impacted by lower levels of these same poisons.

When it was determined that residents of the predominantly white Times Beach and Love Canal were walking on low levels of dioxins which were contaminating the soil, the EPA, to its credit, moved quickly to buy out these communities and relocate residents. The Agency successfully sued the responsible parties: Syntex and Occidental Petroleum, for hundreds of millions of dollars. However, when so-called "subsistence populations downstream" (read communities of color) are poisoned by eating local fish contami-

nated with high levels of dioxins from nearby bleached paper mills (with unheard of cancer risks of two in ten), the EPA response has been 'don't eat the fish.'

In 1982, the EPA fought against civil rights organizations in Warren County, North Carolina who contested the disposal of PCB-contaminated road surface soil near local African American communities...

We are aware of the very recent initiatives which the EPA has been forced to take to address its discriminatory policies in the field such as the Environmental Equity Workgroup, the Urban Environmental Initiative and the financial support being given to academic institutions serving people of color. However, the Environmental Equity Workgroup does not even appear in the Agency's budget and Strategic Plans. The Workgroup, has only one paid staffperson working quarter-time nationally. Furthermore, all of these initiatives emphasize the study of these issues, when action could be readily taken through regular Agency channels to address and alleviate many aspects of the poisoning of communities of color. We consider these initiatives to be token gestures at best, designed for maximum public consumption...

The letter continues by reminding Reilly of a speech he gave on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day in Atlanta when he planted a tree and said, "I have a dream that one day the poor and disadvantaged will be assured the same protection from lead poisoning and hazardous waste and pesticide contamination as are this country's more fortunate citizens..."

The letter closes with specific requests towards "working together to assure that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency carries out its mandate and obligation to treat people of color equally as provided by law, and to be accountable to those communities most directly affected by toxic poisoning."

As we go to press, there still has been no response from the EPA.

Contact: the SW Network, 211 10th Street, S.W., Albuquerque, N.M. 87102, (505) 247-8832.



500 Años del Pueblo Chicano 500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures The updated edition of 450 Years of Chicano History

With over 700 new pictures and 60 new pages!

A bilingual book about a proud people whose ties to the Southwest and Mexico predate the arrival of Columbus

Edited by Elizabeth Martinez

Coming in November, 1991

For information write to: SWOP, 211 10th St., Albuquerque, NM 87102

Southwestern Activists Network on Issues of Environmental and Economic Justice



The following statement of unity was written at the second gathering of the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, September 16-19:

We are a multicultural, multinational, grassroots network. We are respectful, compassionate and loving towards one another. We celebrate our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves. We believe that this understanding represents our best hope for unity for all people. Our focus is to address the fact that communities of color, as well as economically oppressed communities suffer disproportionately from toxic contamination. We refuse to accept being deliberately targeted through past and continuing genocide of indigenous peoples, the threatening of future generations, racism, sexism, and a lack of economic, social and environmental justice.

Racism begins when color and economics are utilized to oppress a people. We suffer common problems and concerns resulting from the poisoning of our communities and we demand recognition of and accountability for the rights that are ours. Included in these rights are:

- The right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination.
- The right to ethical, balanced and responsible use of land and natural resources for humans and other living things.
- The right to culturally appropriate and sustainable development in a clean, safe environment.
- The right of workers to a clean and safe workplace, fair wages, and job security.
- The right of workers and communities to full information in appropriate languages about hazardous environmental conditions.
- The right to participate as equal partners at every level of environmental decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

- The right to protection from harmful exposure. When exposed, the right to cleanup, health care, and compensation for damages.

We recognize that people of color, including women, children, the elderly, indigenous peoples, and migrant workers, are the poorest of the poor and are paying the highest price from pollution with increased work, health problems and economic devastation.

We understand traditional and indigenous sacred knowledge to manifest a compassionate, interconnected, and harmonious relationship to the natural world and to one another. Together we stand for harmony and balance for all people.

We express our outrage at the genocide of indigenous peoples, the disregard for their sovereignty, the violation of treaties, the theft of their land. We demand full reparation for all past injustices and we further demand an immediate halt to all proposals that degrade their lands and their lives with harmful development and waste disposal.

We support a ban on the export of hazardous waste that is devastating the third world and the lands of indigenous nations. We oppose the taking of lands of indigenous peoples and from third world people in order to repay the so-called debt. We call on southwestern people and organizations to closely monitor the export of polluting industries to the border regions and the third world.

As representatives of southwestern



communities active in the struggle for environmental and economic rights, we invite all people to support us in our call for reparations and compensation for those poisoned by toxic and hazardous substances. We demand the criminalization of pollution, the immediate prosecution of polluters, and a halt to any further contamination. We demand that polluters pay for their crimes against people and the environment.

For more information, refer to contact on page 22.

Lenni-Lenape

continued from page 15

street signs, other issues boil: the possible eviction of the United Indians of Delaware Valley from their community center; casual destruction of sites where Lenni-Lenape people were buried over a century ago; the attempt to organize a regional network of Native American rights advocates who can respond quickly to national as well as

local issues— including James Bay and uranium mining in Havasupai territory.

The process is a long one. Who will carry it on? If the participation of women and children in Stop the Name Change Campaign is any indication, there will be many to carry it on. We are witness to emerging voices, voices that are becoming more consistent and confident as the campaign goes on, Native American voices with a Philadelphia accent.



Food Not Bombs

Evolving Process for Direct Action

The money spent by the world on weapons in one week is enough to feed all the people on Earth for a year. When millions of people go hungry each day how can we spend another dollar on war?

Food Not Bombs Nationwide

Perhaps one of the most exciting facets of Food Not Bombs is seeing the idea spread to communities in other areas. Although founded in Boston over a decade ago, Food Not Bombs has no "charter" or "constitution." People from any area can decide to form a group to distribute free food and call themselves Food Not Bombs. We in San Francisco offer our experience and expertise on how to get donations of food, how to choose serving sites, etc. But each group decides its own structure and decision-making process and therefore is autonomous. An updated version of the FNB organizing manual is now available from SF FNB (see address below). Because of publicity that has resulted from our legal problems, and because of the increased need for free food created by the economic system, Food Not Bombs groups have most recently started up in Oakland/Berkeley and Santa Rosa, California; Portland, Oregon; and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Portland

Portland Food Not Bombs got going during the early protests against the war in the Persian Gulf. Since then, they've served soup, bagels, and desserts to 40-50 people every Friday, Saturday, and Sunday on N. Park St. off Burnside, and every Monday in Irving Park. In April, Portland Food Not Bombs teamed up with the local Big Mountain Support Group and ran a

Green Letter welcomes articles, photos, newstips, etc from Food Not Bombs groups and others involved in direct, grassroots work for social change—and please put us on your mailing list

successful food drive to benefit the Navajo and Hopi peoples in northeastern Arizona. Recent projects include guerilla community gardening, and a newsletter with articles on their activities and reports to expose

pg 17], solidarity at other events, and distributing food to a women's shelter and housing for the homeless programs. They are considering expanding distribution to Project Open Hand, among others. Re-

gardless of permits and restrictions, East Bay Food Not Bombs has agreed to serve free food to anyone who wants it, where they want it. In their pivotal role in the struggle for Peoples Park and in countering anti-homeless legislation, they say: Free the Land!

Albuquerque

New Mexico Food Not

Bombs got started in Albuquerque by members of the university community in mid-April. Since that time, they've served lunch each Thursday in the Plaza across from City Hall. Recently, they were hassled for not having Health and Park permits. Because they do not have enough members to sustain a civil disobedience campaign, they have been forced to discontinue hot lunches temporarily and to serve bagels with peanut butter and jelly, lemonade, and similar foods. New Mexico Food Not Bombs has also been involved in actions against the planned nuclear waste transporting and dump site (WIPP), as well as Native American support.

The Nuts and Bolts

Who is Food Not Bombs and how do we make our hectic weekly schedule and political decisions? The San Francisco group provides an example of our process.

San Francisco Food Not Bombs is an organization dedicated to serving free vegetarian food in public places, whether in front of SF's Civic Center every day, or at political rallies. At any given time, there are approximately 20 members doing non-violent direct action. Besides providing free food to hungry and homeless people,



and counter the harassment of homeless people by Portland city police.

Santa Rosa

Food Not Bombs got going in Santa Rosa just before the Persian Gulf War, at a vigil outside the local recruiting center. After this first action they began serving on Tuesdays. They now serve each week-day in Railroad Square. There is a core of more than 15 committed individuals who serve a diverse community of 40-50 students, skate punks, immigrant farmworkers, single mothers with their children, and homeless people of all ages. In conjunction with the Food for Humans grocery, some of their members have been doing regular food distribution to people with AIDS. The group has also helped with community gardening in back of a shelter for homeless families and behind the Friends House, an elderly Quaker community. SR FNB hopes to expand their operation to weekends in the near future.

East Bay (Oakland/Berkeley)

In January, Food Not Bombs came back to Berkeley and Oakland. The group is currently focused on Peoples Park [see

we distribute literature that makes the connections between war spending and poverty. We are active in many networks and coalitions of groups working for peace, justice, and the environment. We have created political theater at demonstrations, and our members participate in demonstrations throughout the Bay Area. We have helped feed activists at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site, run a FNB food drive for Big Mountain, and most recently, we have been working with Roots Against War (an anti-war alliance of people of color) in setting up food service in SF's Fillmore district.

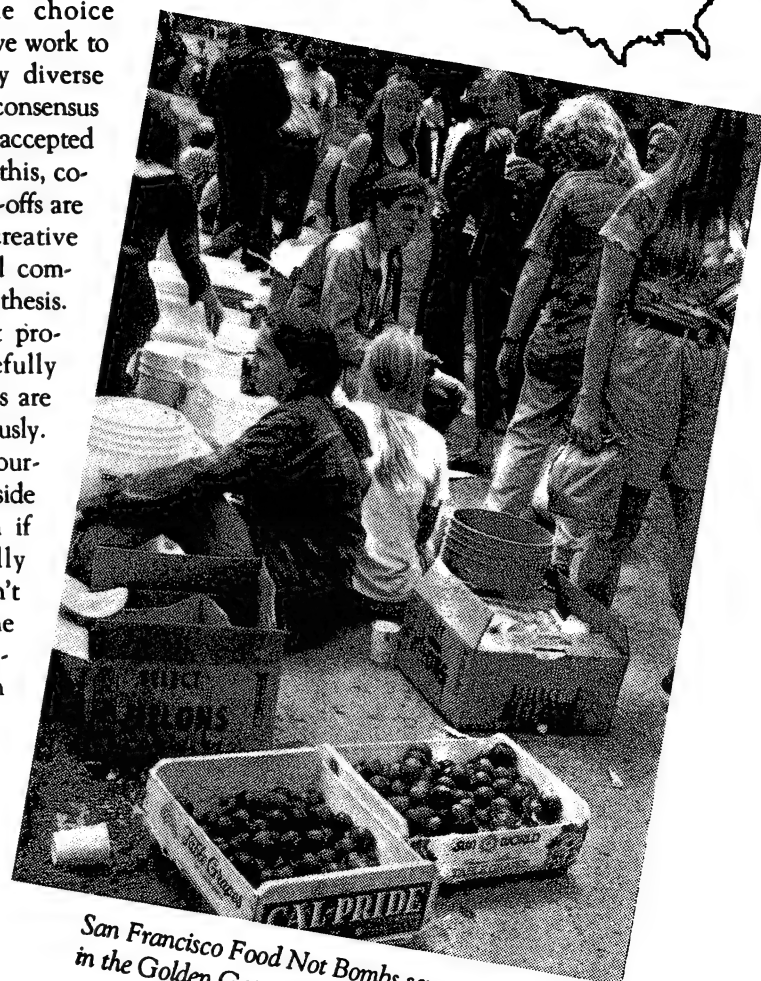
We have weekly meetings to achieve a number of tasks: We set our daily feeding schedule (i.e., where we are going to cook, who will drive and make our food pickups, who will cook and serve). Next, we decide at what political events we will practice "solidarity" by serving free food. We usually participate in at least two events each week, meaning two extra meals. Some of our recent solidarity events have included a homeless veterans convention, and helping East Bay Food Not Bombs and Seeds of Peace with their service at the People's Park demonstrations.

Our meetings continue with the making of political decisions on issues such as: How will we respond to the police beating of one of our members? How might we best lobby members of the SF Board of Supervisors to hold a public hearing concerning the city's harassment of our group? How will we pay for repairs on our vehicles? How can we make sure no one takes on too much responsibility or is perceived by the public as a "leader"?

All our decisions are made by consensus. We believe that through consensus, we are not only working to achieve better solutions, but also promoting the growth of community and trust. As opposed to

voting for one choice among several, we work to synthesize many diverse elements into a consensus decision that is accepted by everyone. In this, coercion and trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis. Concerns about proposals are carefully heard and blocks are taken very seriously. People are encouraged to stand aside from a decision if they personally disagree but don't want to stop the group from implementing an action.

Food Not Bombs is an organization that is always in process. Therefore, we are always debating problems. What do we stand for, beside free vegetarian food and anti-war politics? How do we make sure that all people feel comfortable in our group, from people living on the street to college students? How do we live our political beliefs? These are challenges that take patience and tolerance and the ability to listen. Recently, we had a session with an outside moderator—helping us to look at our relationships with one another and to see how we can better function as compassionate political activists, not just dedicated ones.



San Francisco Food Not Bombs serves a meal in the Golden Gate panhandle

Bring Your Pots and Pans: National Gathering Plans



If you are interested in helping to organize a national Food Not Bombs gathering for 1992, call Keith Miller @ East Bay FNB (510-644-4187)

Food Not Bombs National Contact List

(for phone #'s see Summer '91
Green Letter)

Albuquerque: P.O. Box 40648, Albuquerque, NM 87196

Boston: c/o Eric, 1430 Mass Ave. #806-35, Cambridge, MA 02138

Bozeman: c/o Geoffery, 831 E. Davis Apt. B, Bozeman, MT 59715

East Bay: 1601-18th St, Oakland CA 94607

Houston: c/o Joe, 1902 Waugh, Houston, TX 77008

Long Beach: P.O. Box 4472, Long Beach, CA 90804

Portland, ME: c/o C.T., 295 Forest Ave. #314, Portland, ME 04101

Portland, OR: c/o Allen, 4134 Bor-thick, Portland, OR 97217

Sacramento: 2817 I St. #1, Sacramento, CA 95816

San Francisco: 3145 Geary Blvd. #12, S.F. CA 94118

Santa Rosa: 934 Clark St. Santa Rosa, CA 95404

Seedling groups are currently being organized in Atlanta, GA, Charlotte, NC, Minneapolis, MN, and Rockport, IL.

by Carol Tarlen and Eli Rosenblatt



Corresponding with the Military Resisters

Tori Woodard

According to the War Resisters League, over 2500 U.S. soldiers filed for Conscientious Objector discharges during the Gulf war. Additional thousands filed for hardship or medical discharges or went AWOL. Those who went AWOL and subsequently returned to their units have been serving time in the brig at their respective bases.

The government centralized approximately 30 reserivist resisters from around the country in a dissident platoon at the Marine Corps Base in Camp LeJeune, North Carolina. Most were given sentences ranging from 4 to 30 months. Probably as a result of public pressure, many sentences were reviewed and reduced this summer. Four still await court-martial this fall. Two of those four, Tahan K. Jones and Erik Larsen, spoke out publicly against the war at rallies and peace demonstrations. They face sentences of seven years if convicted of all charges.

I decided to write to the Camp LeJeune resisters. Sometimes it's hard to know how best to work for peace as a rural activist. My thinking was that these resisters are potential organizers, and that informative support letters might encourage them to continue organizing for peace when they are released.

My first letter honored their time in jail as an invaluable contribution to the peace movement, mentioned my war tax resistance as a civilian form of conscientious objection, and assured them that my letter represented hundreds of people who would never write. To those who wrote back, I sent a second letter describing my other political activities: environmental causes and advocacy for American Indian, women's, and bisexual rights. My subsequent letters have all been different, carrying on a dialogue with the resister about his particular interests.

Enrique Gonzalez (who received the longest sentence) wrote that the resisters get to exchange words from time to time

and are staying strong. He said he receives a lot of support letters, so he always needs stamped envelopes. Another resister wrote that it is very hot in the prison with no air conditioning.

One correspondent wanted more information about American Indians; another wants to teach peace when he gets out

what they did was right.

For more information about the resisters, contact the following groups:

War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York NY 10012. Phone (212) 228-0450, fax (212) 228-6193. They have compiled a 16-page list of resisters, including address, status, and support group address.

The Anti-Warrior, 48 Shattuck Square, Box 129, Berkeley CA 94704. Phone (415) 273-2427. The editor of this newspaper is Jeffrey Paterson, the Marine Corp corporal who sat down on the runway in Hawaii, was incarcerated, and finally was discharged "other than honorably". It prints letters of resignation and statements, as well as updates and photos of resisters.

Hands Off!, 111 East 14th Street, Room 132, New York NY 10003. Phone (212) 353-2445. Hands Off! provides support to the Camp LeJeune resisters.



and finishes college; another said he hopes to work to prevent a future massacre like the one in Iraq. A couple asked for help in getting the length of their sentences reduced. They all reaffirmed their belief that

National Campaign for Amnesty for War Resisters

We call for unconditional amnesty for all resisters to the Gulf War.

The government says the war is over, but thousands of soldiers are still AWOL, hundreds of court-martials are pending, and dozens of military resisters have already been sentenced to as much as six years in the brig. The government says that we should support the troops. We say we support those who refused to fight. We support the AWOL's, the deserters, the conscientious objectors, the prisoners of military injustice around the world.

We demand the following:

- Drop all charges against war resisters
- Honorably discharge all AWOL military personnel

- Release all imprisoned resisters
- Grant all conscientious objector applications
- Repeal all draft registration laws

We encourage supporters of this campaign to:

- Call on Congress to enact a general amnesty
- Support resister defense committees
- Organize actions such as vigils and demonstrations
- Demand a congressional inquiry into the military's prosecution and harassment of resisters

For more information write or call the National Campaign for Amnesty for War Resisters at P.O. Box 42488 San Francisco CA 94142 (415) 824-0214.



Veterans Groups Gather at Nevada Test Site

Veterans and their supporters from across the country will gather at Nevada Test Site on Veterans Day weekend, November 9-11, to demand an end to nuclear testing, justice and medical care for all veterans, and the honoring of the treaty between the United States and the Western Shoshone Indians, on whose land the Test Site is located.

The three-day event will include a Sunday Veterans rally, a campout at the main gate of the Nevada Test Site, and nonviolent direct action.

Veterans Day Witness was initiated by the Alliance of Atomic Veterans, a national organization of atomic veterans. Over a quarter-million "atomic veterans" were knowingly exposed by the U.S. government to high-level radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons tests at Nevada Test Site and in the Pacific between 1945 and 1962. These veterans and their families have suffered from cancer, leukemia, thyroid conditions, and other serious diseases, and birth defects in their children as a result of their exposure.

"Veterans Day should be a day to honor veterans, not by glorifying war, but by

speaking out for peace and justice. No other Americans are better equipped than atomic veterans to understand that nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site must stop," said Anthony Guarisco, director of Alliance for Atomic Veterans.

Testing Threatens Citizens

Nuclear testing at Nevada test Site has poisoned the groundwater, soil, air, and people in the region with the most deadly, long-lived toxins on earth. A Department of Energy 1988 report concedes that more than half of all radioactive tests have leaked radiation into the atmosphere.

In January 1991, at the UN-hosted Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment Conference in New York, the United States blocked efforts by nearly 100 countries to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban

(CTB). A CTB would end the qualitative arms race to design and produce more deadly, more accurate nuclear weapons systems intended for first use or first strike.

The recently completed and much-ballyhooed START Treaty (which will reduce the number of long-range missiles to the level they were at when negotiations began ten years ago) will not diminish the threat of nuclear war if the qualitative arms race continues. The U.S. relies on the threatened first use of nuclear weapons to back up a foreign policy

of military intimidation and intervention.



Veterans for Peace at Test Site

Tests Violate Shoshone Treaty Rights

The Western Shoshone Indians have lived on and acted as stewards of the Great Basin land, including the Nevada Test Site, for thousands of years. The Nevada Test Site was seized illegally from the Western Shoshone Nation in 1951 in violation of ancestral land rights and the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley. The federal government is currently threatening to confiscate the livestock of Mary and Carrie Dann from their ancestral land after a 17-year court battle [see story, page 14]. The Western Shoshone National Council will issue permits at the event, giving participants permission to be on their land.

Help Needed

People are needed to help out at the action! Please volunteer for a shift at registration, in the kitchen, at the recycling area, or wherever you can. Picking up shifts is a way you can become involved in the camp community, and meet others.

For more information, contact:

Alliance of Atomic Veterans, (602) 768-6623, PO Box 32, Topock AZ 86436

American Peace Test (702) 386-9834, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas NV 89126



The National Nuclear Waste Transportation Task Force toured the southwest last year, stopping in over a dozen communities in six states. The Radwaste Tours featured a life-sized mock nuclear waste shipping cask to draw attention to the hazards of transporting nuclear waste on America's highways. Photo c. 1990, Boulder Daily Camera.



Peoples Park

continued from page 17

arrested the first morning blockading the construction area. But that night, the area exploded in rioting, which continued for the next several nights. Several hundred riot police from all over the Bay Area were called in, and police used rubber ricochet bullets to disperse crowds—the first time in twenty years such weapons had been used in Berkeley.

Telegraph Avenue, the neighborhood's commercial strip, became a war zone, with nearly every window boarded up for a week. It was only after four nights of fighting that the fury abated, and a non-violent march was held. Over a hundred people were arrested in the first week, and many more have been since then.

Defenders Occupy Peoples Park "Annex"

A tense stalemate filled the following weeks. The first two volleyball courts had been built, at an estimated cost (including police overtime) of over a million dollars. Meanwhile, the University has fired staff and raised fees because of a "budget crunch." Small bands of paid University employees and frat boys have played some volleyball—under police protection—but stray volleyballs have also been stuffed down the portajohns, and the nets were torn down at least once, despite round the clock police presence.

Meanwhile, a nightly vigil continues, as does police harassment. Food Not Bombs/East Bay has been serving free meals in the Park several days a week, and several concerts have been held in the remaining grassy area.

In mid-September, park activists took the offensive, occupying a nearby vacant lot where a suspicious fire had destroyed a transient hotel. The concrete lot sprung to life, with flowers, landscaped paths, benches, and impromptu art work. Because the land is privately owned and the owner has not filed a complaint, the police have been powerless to intervene so far, but the authorities are clearly incensed at the "annex," a stark symbol of what the park's defenders can do at no cost to the taxpayers.

Activists have vowed to remove the volleyball courts and restore the integrity of Peoples Park, however long it takes. The University has vowed to destroy the rest of the middle of the park with more sports courts within the next year. Both sides are vying for the support of the people and the local merchants of South Berkeley, who have been barraged by pro-University mailings and media accounts.

Trials of those arrested have begun, with the first two cases ending in acquittal. Park activist Bob Sparks stated, "We are intentionally getting arrested in order to tie up the University in court, and to get the public involved in a legal settlement of the Park."

The stalemate is not likely to end soon, and help is needed. Bay Area resi-

dents and visitors can join the defense of the park; others can spread the word via newsletter articles, and get involved in similar struggles in your community. For more information, contact the Peoples Park Defense Union, (510) 843-8788.

by George Franklin, Green Letter

Update:

In mid-October, the Berkeley City Council approved a plan to spend \$120,000 for city-sponsored "improvements," as part of its agreement with UCB. This decision overrode a city Landmarks Commission recommendation that any development be by Park users, not the city or University. Park defenders angrily rejected the city's decision, and still oppose any non-user development.

Tompkins Square Park

continued from page 17

alignment in the Lower East Side's anarchist community. Aware of the disgust many local residents expressed at the looting incident, many anarchists and squatters are openly disavowing violence. Of the numerous demonstrations that have occurred to date, the mood is spirited, but the tone nonviolent. At a hands-around-the-park action held June 8, over 1000 neighborhood residents participated. "You had old Polish people, Puerto Rican women with their kids, punk rockers with green mohawks, Rastas with dreadlocks," said Lori Rizzo.

Some radicals advocate squatting as an alternative, pointing out that in a neighborhood containing so many vacant buildings, it makes little sense to build new housing. The Community Board approved a housing plan last fall that calls for elimination of several squatter-occupied buildings. Ostensibly aimed at "low-income" housing, the plan would allow conversion of the properties to luxury housing after 15 years.

The closing of the park is clearly a victory for the anti-homeless and pro-development conservative faction in the community. The mayor's office says Tompkins Square Park will be closed for at least a year and that the park's bandshell—which has been the site of many political

music events—will be razed.

Many in the community fear that if the park remains closed for a year, as planned, squatters will be evicted and the new district council lines will stand, irrevocably changing the Lower East Side's long heritage as a working class community that tolerates diversity and dissent.

Excerpted with author's permission from the Guardian, New York City

Update:

Bill Weinberg reports that on August 27th, the park bandshell was destroyed. Built in 1966, the bandshell was a forum for the diverse communities that made up the Lower East Side as well as providing a venue for dissent. Partly as a result of this forum, the area experienced far less ethnic tension than other parts of New York City. In the 1980s, it came to represent a reaction to gentrification, with events like housing rights rallies being held on a regular basis.

"The resistance has diffused now that we've lost the park," Weinberg reports. "Since we can't meet in the park, we have to rely on more traditional methods of organizing. Some of the splits in the movement have become more intense. It seems like every crisis in New York City has reached overwhelming proportions, and there is a sense of despair here."

For more information, contact The Shadow, PO Box 20298, New York, NY 10009.



National Student Conference Links Environmental and Social Justice Issues

"Common Ground," the third annual national conference of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), convened over the weekend of October 4-6 in Boulder, Colorado and attracted some 2200 participants representing 50 states and 6 nations.

The program addressed the undeniable links between the environment and social justice issues over a three-day agenda filled with speakers, panels and workshops. Featured speakers included Pat Bryant (Director, Gulf Coast Tenants Leadership Association), Dana Alston (Founder, Panos Institute), David Brower (Chair, Earth Island Institute), and Maria Cherkasova (Social-Ecological Union, Moscow).

Presenters and workshop leaders described the frustration felt by traditionally-marginalized communities in their efforts to have issues which affect them addressed within the framework of the mainstream environmental movement. Issues used as examples throughout the conference included toxic dumping in southern states, the exploitation and destruction of urban

environments, and the U.S. government's mistreatment and domination of Native American Indian cultures.

In an interview with the New York Times, Pat Bryant explained: "The bottom line is that if the national groups do not begin to deal with solutions to our problems, they will not be needed." Several national coordinators and staff of SEAC addressed SEAC's commitment to and goals for diversity within the student environmental movement. SEAC's National Outreach Coordinator, Randolph Viscio, said in an interview, "Poor housing is an environmental issue. Fighting for equality in an impoverished community where a company wants to put a toxic dump. Building coalitions with labor and minority groups. It's not that these are very new issues. They just haven't been given the attention they deserve."

Results from a survey of conference participants showed that roughly 80% of all participants agreed after the conference that these issues are indeed connected. Regarding the conference agenda, 85% of those who responded felt the weekend was a valuable and successful experience.



Over 250 workshops addressed topics ranging from grassroots organizing tactics to working on international issues to specific topics such as organizing around the 500th anniversary of Columbus' invasion of (what is now) North America. An outdoor rally featured international student speakers and music.

"Common Ground" and its themes were covered by USA Today, the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, all three major TV networks, and CNN. The mainstream media approach to the linking of issues and movements was one of interest, excitement, and perhaps even a little bit of encouragement.

Students and organizers of all ages are encouraged to get in touch with the Student Environmental Action Coalition by contacting our national office, PO Box 1168, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 27514-1168. Or call (619) 967-4600.

Video tapes of the "Common Ground" speakers as well as a one-hour composite tape of the entire weekend can be purchased from Good Company Media Productions, (303) 444-3340.

Eric J. Kessler

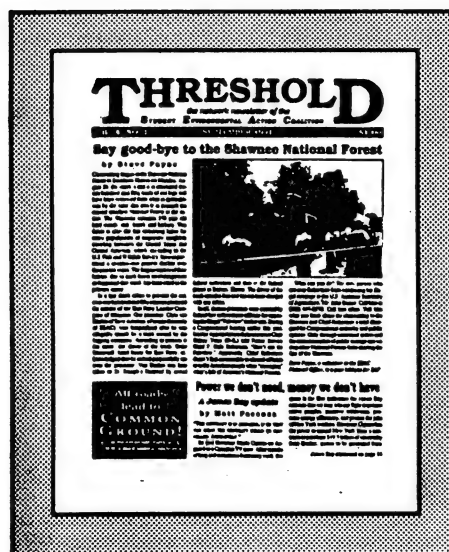
Keep Up With Student Organizing

SEAC Newsletter Keeps You In Touch

Threshold is the network newsletter of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC).

Recent features have included Race and Environment, Organizing Skills, International Student News, and more.

Individual memberships are \$15 for student/youth, \$50 for others. Campus group rate is \$30. Contact Threshold and SEAC at PO Box 1168, Chapel Hill, NC 27514-1168.

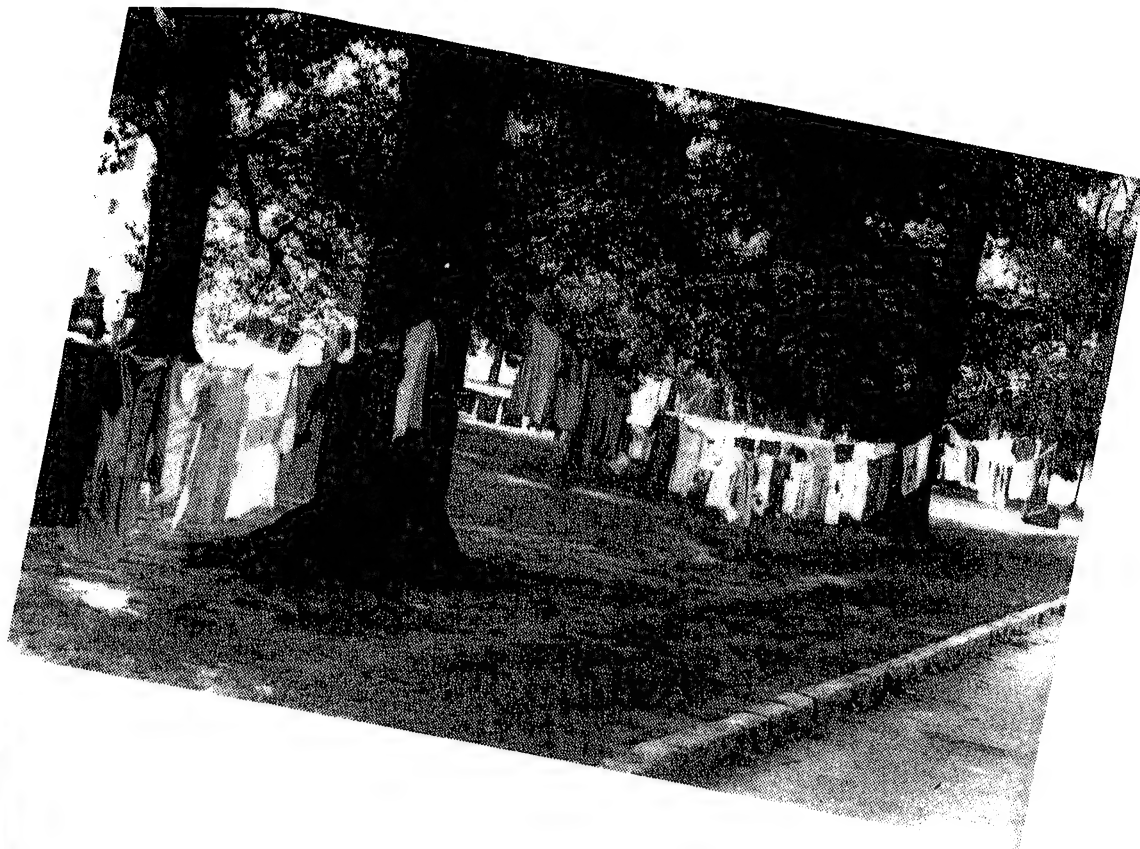


A black and white photograph showing several t-shirts hanging on a line. The shirts are light-colored with dark graphics. One shirt prominently displays the number '1157' above a graphic of a person's head. Another shirt to the right has the word 'Karl' visible. The image is grainy and has a high-contrast, almost stencil-like appearance.

A black and white photograph showing several t-shirts hanging on a clothesline. The shirts are arranged in a row, with some partially obscured by others. The most prominent shirt on the right has the text "I Will No Longer Live in the Dark" and "I Will No Longer Be" printed on it. Another shirt to its left has the text "I Will No Longer Be a Slave to the Man in the White Coat". The shirts are hanging against a light background, and the overall image has a grainy, high-contrast appearance.

The Cape Cod Women's program called the Clothesline Project the purpose of bearing witness to the pain and the wounded in our community. While many people have experienced violence that is being experienced on an ongoing basis, this project is the extent of the impact similar to the Vietnam Wall. The Clothesline is the process for those who are one or who are

ANCE



During the time that the Clothesline is displayed there are sounds of a gong, whistle, and airhorn. The gong is rung every 18-22 seconds, representing how often a woman in this country is battered. The whistle is blown every six minutes in representation of the number of reported rapes in the U.S. The airhorn is blown every 22 minutes, representing the fact that every 22 days a woman is murdered due to domestic violence.

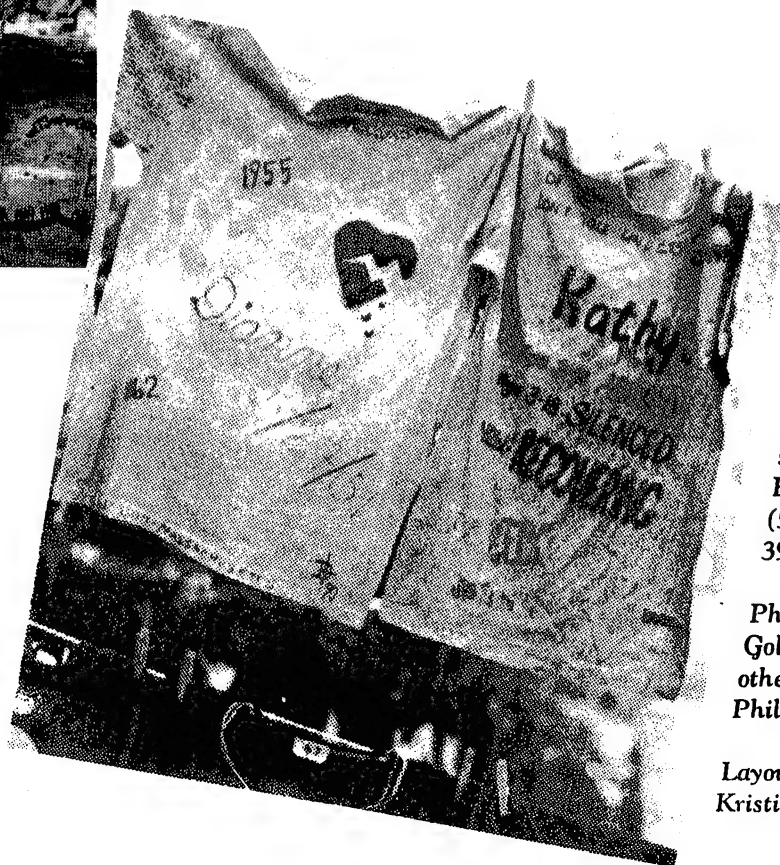


This project has been displayed at the 1990 Take Back the Night Action, on the Dec 6th anniversary of the murder of twelve Montreal students, on International Women's Day, and at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's National Conference, which focused on Women vs. Violence.

For more information, or to start a clothesline in your area, call Honora Lowenthal-Goldstein at (508) 896-7530 or Mary at (508) 398-1023.

Photos: Upper left, Honora Lowenthal-Goldstein, Cape Cod Women's Agenda; others courtesy of WILPF, Philadelphia.

Layout designed by
Kristi Lee & George Franklin





Cuban Greens/Anti-Authoritarians Need Aid

Orlando Polo and Mercedes Paez of Cuba's anti-authoritarian/ecological/anti-militarist "Green Path" group have been touring the United States recently. Arrested many times in Cuba, they are being repressed again as Cuban authorities are refusing to allow them re-admission to Cuba.

A campaign for them is being organized by Latin American-Neither East Nor West (Cuban and other Latin Americans in Miami) and New York City-Neither East Nor West.

Green Path represents an alternative in Cuba that rejects both the capitalist and communist models and deserves our support. You can help them by addressing protest letters to the "Cuban Interest Section" (Cuba's quasi-embassy in Washington DC) demanding that Orlando and Mercedes be allowed to return home, and not face repression once there. Please mail letters of support to NYC-Neither East Nor West, c/o Bob McGlynn, 528-5th St, Brooklyn NY 11215.

For a two-page interview with Orlando and Mercedes in "Love & Rage," send \$1.

Kazakhstan Sends Thanks for Support Against Nuclear Testing

The following letter was sent to opponents of nuclear testing in the United States who had acted in solidarity with Soviet activists protesting at the Semipalatinsk site in Kazakhstan. The letter is edited slightly:

Dear friends,
Our joint efforts have led to a tremendous success.

The Semipalatinsk test site is shut forever.

On 29 August 1991, on hearings of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the new USSR Defense Minister, Marshal E.I. Shaposhnikov

announced that the Semipalatinsk test site is shut down forever and no more nuclear tests will be done at it in the future. It also means that the three additional tests requested by the former Minister earlier this year are cancelled. According to the message, this site will be reorganized into an R & D center.

The People of Kazakhstan are of course the major actors of our two years of activity devoted to this aim, and have carried on their broad shoulders the main burden. However, we felt each day your support in struggle. It is our joint achievement.

We would like to mention our colleagues: IPPNW, U.S. CTB Coalition, GreenPeace, Gensuikin, Parliamentarians Global Action, American Peace Test, Citizens Call, PSR, Nevada Desert Experience, Western States Legal Foundation, International Foundation for Survival and Development

of Humanity, Shoshone People, and many many others. Forgive, please, if we forget to mention some of you.

We consider that this is the first step to our main objective—to shut down all test sites in the world. Therefore our Global Anti Nuclear Alliance (GANA) need and will continue its activities. Let us share our thoughts how to work further.

If you want peace be prepared for peace!

Olgas Suleimenov, Vladimir Iakimets,
Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement, GANA

Note—Green Letter's Pamela Osgood visited Kazakhstan and wrote a report on the resistance to nuclear testing in summer 1990. Reprints available for \$1. GL carries regular coverage of organizing against United States' nuclear testing at Nevada Test Site. See American Peace Test report on page 27 of this issue, and pages 2-3 of last issue.



84 Arrested in British Columbia Water Rights Protest

On Friday, September 6, 1991, 84 people were arrested in the Slocan Valley in British Columbia. They were charged with contempt of court for refusing to obey a court injunction against a blockade they had erected to stop logging road construction by Slocan Forest Products into the Hasty Creek watershed.

The Hasty Creek watershed is 1.1 hectares in size on the east side of Slocan Lake near Silverton, B.C. The blockaders are residents of the Slocan Valley and water users of the

Hasty Creek watershed. These water users rely on the Hasty Creek watershed for their domestic water supply.

An injunction was obtained when it became clear that the residents of the area would blockade road construction equipment. The blockade was a final resort for a community wishing to ensure that water values were adequately protected prior to any harvesting.

Support letters are urgently needed!
Fax letters c/o Slocan Valley Watershed Alliance, (604) 358-7950.



Argentines Protest Debt for Nature Swap

Mark Huntington,
National Park Nahuel Huapi
Bariloche, Argentina

Arriving in this pristine unpopulated part of southwest Argentina is a bit like entering an environmental war zone. Coming over the mountains from Chile to the border town of Esquel, the hot topic of conversation is the government's plan to build a nuclear waste dump to accommodate French nuclear waste and to generate badly needed foreign currency. Then coming into this normally sleepy tourist town in the middle of Argentina's oldest national park, one finds a local population up in arms over debt for nature swaps and George Bush's "Initiative for the Americas." Weekly protest marches have become a fixture here and in Buenos Aires, organized by a coalition that includes environmentalists, the national park rangers union and the local tourist industry. All of them fear that the World Bank, the U.S. government, foreign environmental groups and their own president are conspiring to open up protected nature reserves to development in the name of debt for nature (DN) swaps.

Sweet Deals?

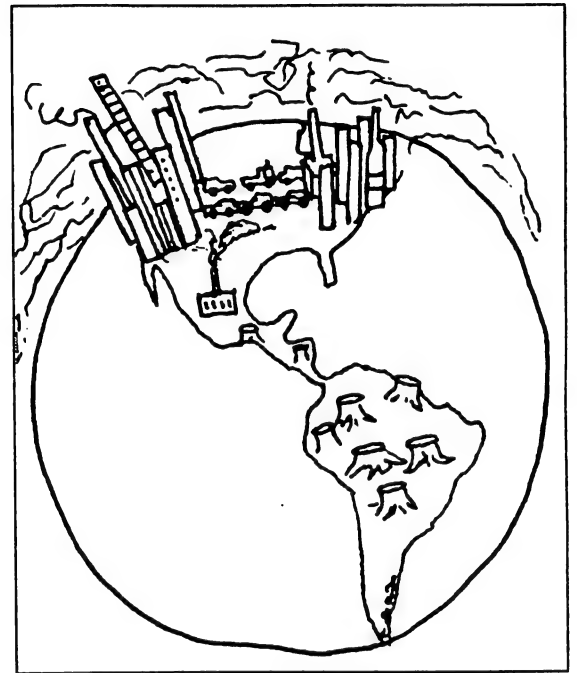
Wait a minute! Aren't DN swaps supposed to be the sweet part of the deal? Isn't the idea to create new nature preserves and to promote existing conservation efforts? If the good and bad of DN swaps suddenly seems obscure, there's no mistaking the ugly history of exploitation and corruption out of which they were born. The latest twist in this tragic history is Bush's initiative which would use Latin America's massive foreign debt as leverage to remove all barriers to U.S. companies in their headlong rush to exploit the region's resources. The initiative is touted as a free trade policy, but its effect will be to consolidate the U.S. stranglehold over the economies and resources of Latin America. Budding local industries will be easily destroyed by competition from more developed U.S. companies. The result will be increasing Latin America's dependence on

foreign products and thus increasing the need to sell off natural resources at any price. There's nothing new in this plan and it's not just the Argentines who fear its consequences.

In Chile, for example, funding for a proposed increase in oil exploration will not come as a benevolent gift. It will pay for environmentally costly exploration by U.S. companies using U.S. equipment, thus subsidizing U.S. industrial development. Exploiting the oil that is found will require more products of U.S. industry and whatever profits are realized will flow out of Latin America and into the bank accounts of foreign oil companies. Chile's problems of economic dependence and underdevelopment will remain, but added to them will be more foreign debt, environmental degradation and a diminished resource base. A few people will get richer but the country as a whole will sink deeper into economic chaos. Local industry will not be stimulated, unemployment will not be significantly affected and the demands of a growing population will be left for the debt-ridden Chileans to deal with.

Ecological Big Brothers?

A free trade policy is obviously a good deal for U.S. industry, opening up lucrative markets for U.S. products while increasing the flow of cheap raw materials. But what does all this have to do with DN swaps? First of all, DN swaps, like the Bush initiative, only exist as a result of the black cloud of debt hanging over third world economies. Swaps are supposed to be the silver lining. They're the result of pressure from U.S. environmental groups to make these international business deals more environmentally positive. But if the organizers of the Argen-



tine protests are to be believed, these swaps could be described as a power grab by the groups themselves, whom the Argentines are quick to point out owe their existence to subsidies from the same multinationals behind the Bush Initiative.

Past DN swap experience would seem to confirm the protester's charges. The world's first DN swap was arranged without public input between Conservation International and the Bolivian government. Since the agreement was signed in July 1987, deforestation in the affected area has accelerated and the indigenous inhabitants have become increasingly vocal in their opposition, saying the deal is an imminent threat to their survival. If all goes as planned Bolivia's debt will be reduced by \$650,000 and Conservation International will retain administrative control over 3 million acres of rain forest. In Ecuador, an affiliate of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Fundacion Natura, has been

continued to page 58



East German Groups Unite

Tom Cuson, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany

East German direct democracy opposition groups are digging in to consolidate their positions after a marathon stretch of tidal changes in founding, organizing and withstanding three elections within 8 months. Day-to-day practical governing is first on the list. Bundnis '90 (Alliance '90) has 8 members in the Federal Parliament as well as in East German state legislatures and cities. Learning new systems and generating responses are a part of this. Imagine if the U.S., from one day to the next, took over the entire social, financial, economic and political structures of Great Britain. What chaos! Not just different money, but every piece of paper and form is different, ministries and procedures, payroll and insurance. Whole concepts are different, like unemployment, for employment was a right in the German Democratic Republic, as was housing, childcare and health insurance.

Parallel priority is the current fusion of the groups into a unified, formal political party. Bundnis '90 had functioned till now as an election alliance. This formal fusion

will improve chances for their survival, as future elections won't define East Germany as a special district. Parties will have to achieve 5% on an all-Germany basis to be represented in Parliament and to receive funding. The West Greens (WG's) failed to do that in the December '90 elections. There are no WG's in Parliament.

The groups in Bundnis '90 are Democracy Now, the Initiative for Peace and Human Rights, the Independent Women's Association and the East Greens. The United Left's participation is ruled out because of its unclear position to the Party of Democratic Socialism, the reformed Socialist Unity Party which ruled the GDR for 40 years. Secret arrangements and deals in the last months of the regime as well as continuing PDS scandals of secret accounts, money laundering, sweetheart property deals and collaborators among its leadership and elected representatives undermine its credibility. But the most important and controversial question is the role of New Forum, the first and largest opposition group.

struck a chord in the public once more. The files remained in the East, under an East commissioner from NF. The 'outing' of old secret police informers and party leaders in high political and economic positions as well as dealing with these massive questions of the past are also a main priority. NF wishes neither a witch-hunt nor an apathy like the 'benign neglect' of the Nazis after the war, but rather a dialogue.

They wish not to be a political party, but indeed to run candidates for and hold political offices. Ingrid Koeppel is an NF member of Parliament and has made secret police questions her principal concern. Founding members Reiner Schult and Sebastian Pflugebeil (nuclear physicist) are Berlin state Representatives. The concept of citizens' voices expressed directly in Parliament is perhaps the most startling new concept of the "soft revolution." Imagine Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Ralph Nader or a Martin Luther King Jr. in Congress. Imagine Greenpeace, N.O.W., SaneFreeze or A.I.M. running for state and local offices.

New Forum

New Forum (NF) is holding back on Bundnis '90 because they don't want to be a political party in any traditional sense. They emphasize their grassroots oppositional structure as the critical voice of the people, bound to no fixed ideology or struggle for power. They relate to issues which cut across political, partisan ideologies in a striving of and for public consensus. Such social and political issues include those around the ownership and use of the GDR secret police files on 6,000,000 East and 2,000,000 West Germans. In Aug-Sept '90, NF occupied the main headquarters of the secret police in an action protesting the West German takeover of the files and free access of them to Western secret services. Their direct action and hunger strike

East Greens

East Greens have it hard. Founded later, after the fall of the Wall, without leading East personalities, they are weaker in numbers and structures. Their fusion with WG's leads to fears the West will dominate here as in all else and in all other political structures which are simply extensions of the West. East Greens are also seen as a one-issue party in a country rocked and decimated by incredible economic and social crises. EG's may well seek to dissociate themselves from WG's and enter Bundnis '90 at least at state levels. EG Christina Weisske was elected to the national executive committee in April and speaks more positively about collaboration and the future.

East/West Relationships

Because WG's are so fragmented into bitterly feuding factions, one must speak of relations between 'parts' of the WG's and Bundnis '90. Generally speaking, WG's exercise either an apathetic non-perception of the East or a know-it-all, we tried-it-ten-



In the new Germany—amid rising social costs and right wing violence, Greens struggle for unification



years-ago disparagement. The WGs are seen by the East more as the failure of a chance than as a model for imitation or even takeover. The Bundnis '90/Green front has functioned best in Berlin, the only real location where East and West meet and mix daily.

WG's, like other West Germans, never had or wanted to have much to do with the East. The post-war generation had written off the East as boring, backward hillbillies. Relatives were sent packages of coffee and fruit at Christmas coupled with condescending remarks. Reunification was largely a successful media campaign of conservatives and older leaders. Two exceptions were Gert Bastian and Petra Kelly, who visited the East opposition at a time when it was unfashionable. Neither plays a significant role today. Another reason is the dominant influence of the left, who concerned themselves with fighting the 'imperialist West' and whose concept of human rights is 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' and who never looked East or to Cambodia or Afghanistan. Revolution should occur as far away as possible in an exotic tropical land with colorful, dancing natives. Changes in the East actually embarrass their world-view. These attitudes persist. Even some of the few US hard-left groups have not yet come to terms with realities: the failure of Stalinist systems doesn't discredit the very real worth of socialist ideas, but the left must recognize the corrupt, repressive nature of these regimes. How can they work for the future when they haven't understood the past?

New Foundations

West Greens' left orientation presents a further difficulty to relations in that East groups are allergic to left ideological clichés, as is the whole East in general. Not to the idealism: the rights to work, childcare, employment, housing and medical care are being sorely missed in the adjustment to soft shark capitalism. But big interest of East groups is democracy. The short-lived, post-WWI Weimar Republic was the only previous democracy. The East went from Nazism to Stalinism in one great schlurp. A last stretch of the Wall is maintained as a memorial directly above the ruins of the Gestapo basement. This land has had 12 years of democracy in the last 2,000 years! East direct democracy groups can quote from

Thoreau and Paine, the civil rights movement, non-violent resistance and civil disobedience. They are non-ideological and interested in consensus. This forms surprising parallels with US groups. Although often inspired by European socialist ideas (Midwest granges, labor movement), US democratic groups don't carry the burdensome baggage of left dogmatism; the cultlike splintering of Maoism, Trotskyism, Spartacus, etc., ad infinitum. There is a pragmatic approach

based on populism in the US which has deep historic dimensions. The European left never looked favorably upon the American experiment. But the new East European opposition drew from the example of the black civil rights movement (also not due to the left), Gandhian methods, and even American rock & roll (witness the meeting of Vaclav Havel with Lou Reed!). East German groups thus have more similarity with US groups than either have with West Greens. Jutta Dittfurth's spit-in-your-face resignation from the WG's at the Neumunster convention, taking her wing with her, may be the best thing that's happened to the WG's in a long time. They may be able to become an effective organization rather than self-righteous elite bearers of the truth, ready at a moment's notice to put blasphemers to the torch.

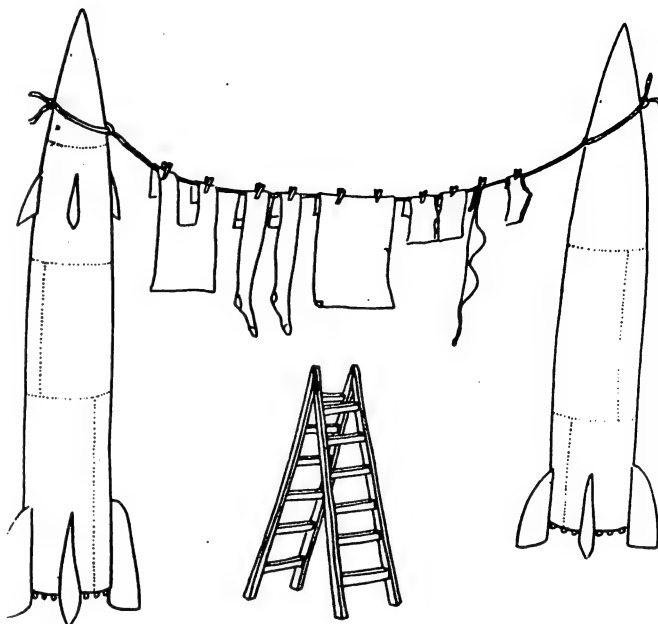
Faith & Hope?

East Germany now resembles the US South after the Civil War. Corrupt Northern Carpetbaggers (West Germany) snatching up everything in sight and neglecting the infrastructure in the transition from slavery (to the "free market"). Self-protection groups of poor whites spring up (Klu Klux Klan, Neo-Nazis) with strong streaks of scapegoating and racism (the few people of color in East Germany are workers from

socialist countries: Vietnam, Angola. They're attacked by right-radical youth gangs who throw them from moving trains). West distributors acquire exclusive rights and exclude East products, forcing the minority of viable East enterprises and farmers into bankruptcy, to be bought for a song by the West. East civil service wages are 60% of the West's, with previous seniority not counted and hard working conditions. The East health system falls apart as intensive care and operating room nurses are stolen by the West: 100% wages, seniority and even cash bonuses on top. Medical operations are delayed for lack of care personnel and patients on the waiting list have died. The hoped-for West and foreign investment hasn't appeared (too complex to deal with here) and unemployment's hitting 40% in an atmosphere of fear, frustration and disappointed resignation. Disastrous environmental conditions press their poisons without timely answers.

Conservatives have lost their appeal, but the East has lost both hope and faith. Can the East direct democracy groups inspire their citizens to new efforts? Can the groups develop effective tactics in the face of absolute Western dominance? There's little chance for setting a flame in the West. Early hopes that unification would lead West Germany, with its Disneyland wealth, to

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The European Greens Coordination

Mike Feinstein, International Working Group of the Greens

There is an organization of national Green Parties in Europe called the European Green Coordination (EGC). At present, it consists of 24 member and 2 observer Green Parties from Western and Eastern Europe. Six IWG authorized correspondants have attended EGC meetings (Ross Mirkarimi, Mindy Lorenz, Mike Feinstein, Mark Sharron, Kendra Ellis, and Mitch Chanellis). As invited guests these U.S. Greens have actively participated in EGC political discussion. The following report is based upon IWG attendance at meetings in Brussels (12/90 & 6/91), Bonn (10/90), and Zurich (6/91), along with minutes and other reports we've received from the meetings in Budapest (3/90), and Venice (4/91).

In 1984 the EGC began with five Western European Green Parties. Its original purpose, according to current EGC political secretary Leo Cox (Agalev, Flanders, Belgium) and EGC co-secretary Paolo Bergamaschi (Federazione dei Verdi, Italy), was "to stimulate the process of Green Parties coming into being in Europe through the exchange of information and political ideas, and through supporting each others' campaigns." By mid-1989 this had been largely accomplished. Green Parties were firmly established throughout Western Europe, EGC membership had grown to 18, and 29 Greens from 7 countries were elected to the European Parliament in part on a Common European Platform drawn up by the EGC.

Then came the two great changes of post-Cold War Europe—the opening of Eastern Europe and the acceleration towards economic, political and military union in

the European Community (EC). Both of these changes have dramatically reshaped the purpose, practice, and membership of the EGC. From opposition to Cold War bloc structures and nuclear threats, the political focus of the EGC has shifted to the battle for the economic and political institutional future of Europe. While the Cold War was a period of relative status quo, the present is a period of rapid and fundamental transition. As a result, the Greens feel great pressure to affect the process now, or else be left behind. Complicating their efforts is that at the same time, the EGC has undergone internal transformation because it is trying to integrate with the new Green Parties from Eastern Europe.

From the East

Since December, 1989, representatives from Green Parties in Estonia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Georgia, Rumania, Slovenia, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Moscow and Leningrad have attended EGC meetings and seminars. This has had its effects on the EGC structurally and politically.

Structurally, the wave of new membership applications has been a bit overwhelming. Eastern Greens have been eager to participate in the EGC. But for Western Greens, granting recognition can be problematic. Prior to 1990, there was limited contact between Eastern and Western Greens. When the new Eastern Green Parties were formed following the Eastern European revolutions, the East Greens often had internal problems that made it difficult to know who was who.

For example, as has often been the case with many of the new parties across the political spectrum in the East, ex-Communist Party "apparatchicks" have found their way into the ranks of the Greens, sometimes taking control, as has been claimed in Hungary. In other cases, most notably Poland and Rumania, two or more groups are claiming the Green Party identity. In these situations, especially given the newness of the Eastern European political situations, the political validity that come with EGC recognition is great. All this puts a lot pressure on the EGC process. The result has been that a lot of time has been spent on the Eastern applications, often without determinate result.

The Estonian Greens (12/89) were the first Eastern Green Party to be accepted into the EGC, in part because they had already been in existence as a movement, but also as a gesture of solidarity with their struggle for autonomy in the Baltic nations. Next accepted were the East German Greens (3/90), both because of their contacts with Die Grunen and to help them with their upcoming elections. Another year then passed before the the Bulgarian and Georgian Greens were accepted in Venice. From 12/90 to 4/91 Greece, Malta, and Norway also became members.

As far as the other Eastern Green Parties go, there is the feeling within the EGC that it is better not to move ahead on any more applications until the political situations there sort themselves out. In the meantime, some of the EGC meetings will shift to "seminar style" instead of the "resolution and voting" style of the past few years, because at





this point, the East and West Greens really need to spend some time getting to know each other better.

Politically, integration with the East has brought about some interesting debates, especially over the concept of "nationalism". Many Eastern Greens argue that after years of subordination to the USSR, some sort of national identity is necessary for their lands. At first, Western Greens didn't tend to hear this, because Western Greens have come from countries that have enjoyed years of domestic affluence and "relative" democracy, together with international "first world" political and economic dominance. This experience has sobered them to the limitations of the nation-state and moved them to conclude that some national powers need be delegated to both local and supra-national levels.

To many Eastern Greens, some of this is a bit far off in the future. In the East they've come from forty or more years of economic stagnation and political oppression. As Estonian Green Party speaker and parliamentarian Vello Pöhla argues, while the nation-state has its problems, the East needs to go through its own political evolution before it can take the next step beyond it, whatever it may be. The Georgian Greens add that the type of nationalism they envision would be bioregional and multicultural and would not impede upon the rights of minorities, a concern heard often now as Yugoslavia and the USSR both break apart.

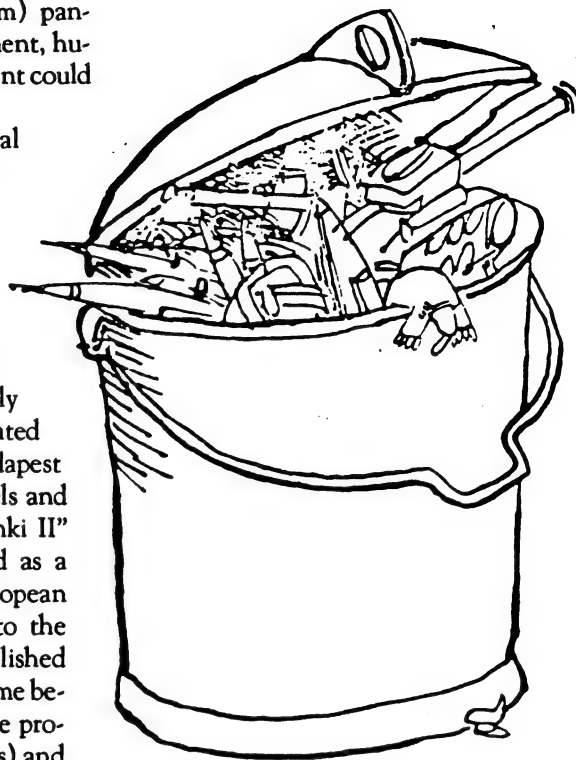
The debate about nationalism and the nation-state is but one part of the larger EGC debate about the institutional future of Europe. There is already widespread agreement among Greens (see "The European Community, Eastern Europe, and the European Greens," M. Feinstein, in the Summer '91 issue of "Green Synthesis", available from P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro CA, 90733) that the manner in which the EC is being advanced is undemocratic and unecological. It is essentially creating a club for the rich at the expense of environmental, health, and labor standards of the average EC citizen, as well as at the expense of economic sovereignty in Eastern Europe and the Third World. In place of this sort of Europe, the Greens hope to see a "Europe of Regions," with ecologically self-reliant and democratically-oriented communities and regions becoming the base for society. The Greens also

advocate a delegation of power from the nation-state to the supra-national level, so that minimum (but not maximum) pan-European agreements on environment, human rights, and security/disarmament could be enforced.

The Greens see such a political body as possibly coming out of a combination of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which contains 34 European nations, and the Council of Europe, which contains 23 and meets on human rights. Agreeing on a process to actually achieve this, however, has frustrated the EGC. Beginning with the Budapest meeting, and continuing in Brussels and Bonn, the EGC debated a "Helsinki II" memorandum that would be used as a common document regarding European institutions ("Helsinki II" refers to the 1975 Helsinki meeting that established the CSCE). Disagreement often came between those who favor a federative process (Italians, French, and Belgians) and those who favor a looser confederation (Irish, Austrians, Swiss, Norwegians, Danes, and the Swedes). The former group, who also come from EC countries, seem more resigned to trying to modify the EC; while the latter (most of whom are from non-EC countries) reject the EC and are fighting to keep their countries out—hence a much different focus of energy between them.

Complicating matters is that the Green Group in the European Parliament (EP) consists mainly of members from the former group (along with the Germans, who are not anti-federation so much as anti-EC). The EGC-drafted Common Statement of the European Greens for the 1989 European Parliamentary elections took a strong stand against the EC. Now the parties that did not receive representation in the EP feel that they are not being represented by those that did. For their part, the "pro-federalists" claim that the others are blurring the issue, by confusing a critique of the present EC (which the "pro-federalists" would agree with) with a critique of federalism per se.

Complicating the situation even more is the position of the East Greens. In many Eastern countries, the feeling exists that if a country is not willing to tailor its economy towards the desires of the EC and U.S., it



risks not receiving necessary foreign investment to avoid economic catastrophe. Thus some Eastern Green Parties, like the Bulgarians, want to join the EC.

After the last year and a half, many in the EGC feel that the European Green movement is at a crossroads. During the 80's, European Green Parties helped raise a decade of environmental concern. But now political fortunes seem to be tied to the political and economic restructuring of Europe. It was one thing for the public to sympathize with the Greens on the environment. It's another with economics, security issues, and the institutional future of Europe.

European Greens are being severely tested to refine and communicate their politics. Ideas like decentralization and bioregionalism and a plausible Green economics have to be translated into reality. And this has to happen at the same time East Greens and West Greens get to know each other. The next EGC meeting is scheduled for 3 days in Sofia, Bulgaria in late November, including a single day being planned solely by the Eastern Europeans. The emphasis is on discussion, rather than having to come to agreement. Look for a report in a future Green Letter.



Chubu Recycle

George Crane

Garbage is everywhere. It's hard to avoid it anymore or to treat it as a benign nuisance that can simply be burned or buried. In the past, many of the materials we used were fairly simple and easily separated—wood, steel, cloth, paper, copper, etc. Because of this many countries evolved recycling businesses early in their industrial development. As societies expanded their industries, their products became more and more complex and refined. This led to an increase in the difficulty of separation of the component materials and subsequent increase in the amount of essentially unrecyclable materials in the waste stream. With the rise of the advertising and packaging industries, the business and the ethic of recycling were dealt a near fatal blow. However, with the rise of citizen's environmental groups in the 1970's, a return to community based recycling began.

An integral part of this ground swell is Chubu Recycle. Founded in 1981 to provide a service to people who wanted to buy and sell second-hand items, Chubu Recycle quickly expanded to encompass a variety of projects. Originally a volunteer organization, it now has a paid staff of over 30 people. In Western terms, it could best be described as a hybrid non-profit group/business. Because of the narrow definitions for tax-exempt organizations in Ja-

pan, Chubu Recycle has had to adopt certain business-like aspects not often found in comparable groups in the U.S. and elsewhere. All operating expenses are self-generated. There are no foundations or other benefactors to help them along. Still, they help support a variety of environmental and social causes as well as pay the staffs' salaries. There's definitely a feeling among the staff that they're involved in "the real work." One major difference between Chubu Recycle and Western counterparts is the almost complete dissociation of the group from anything overtly political.

It's best to give a little overview of the recycling situation in Nagoya where Chubu Recycle is located. Up until recently, the city's Environmental Works Department has concerned itself with high-tech waste disposal rather than resource recovery. They have also been stymied by inadequate budgets, conservative and nearly oblivious leadership, and a general lack of power. The political and economic weight of the large construction and engineering firms has smothered almost all of the common sense alternatives. Because of

this, the city continues to build incinerators and other high-cost, resources-squandering waste handling systems. They also



Latest issue of *Recycle News*

Affluence Creates Growing Garbage Problem for Japan

Japan's extraordinary affluence is creating a massive garbage disposal problem, according to a recent Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) report. Japan ranks second only to the United States in the amount of garbage created. It produces 4.1 billion tons of garbage a year, against the United States' 17.8, Britain's 1.6, Germany's 1.9 and France's 1.5 billion tons.

Because of Japan's affluent lifestyle, there has been an increase in the amount of garbage that is difficult to dispose of, such as large household appliances and mattresses. The Japanese also produce more garbage that conventional disposal facilities cannot handle, like disposable diapers and plastic-metal composite materials. Dangerous garbage, such as syringes thrown away by medical institutions, that pose a serious public health hazard, and gas cylinders and sprays that could explode, are on the increase. If the amount of such garbage continues to increase at the annual rate of about 3%, it will reach 72 million tons in the year 2000. It will not be possible for Japan to dispose of this growing mountain of garbage unless the number of final-refuse disposal sites is increased.

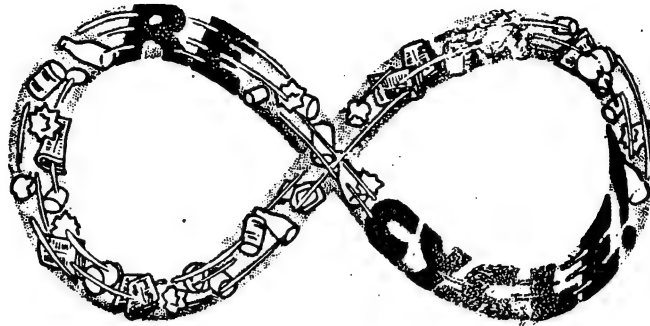
The problem is that major cities, which have experienced a heavy concentration of population and industry over the past few decades, face not only a rapid increase in the amount of garbage, but also a shortage of space for new disposal sites. Nothing less than a change in attitude is required, notes the ministry, not only in reducing the amount of refuse and promoting recycling, but also in Japanese ways of life. For instance, the amount of raw garbage, empty cans and waste paper is increasing as a result of the Japanese tendency to over-wrap things. Also, the widespread use of disposable goods and one-way packaging using plastic containers has created an environment in which it is easy for garbage to pile up.

Recycling In Vienna



Meredith Schneeweiss

It is said that the average Viennese produces 400 kilograms of waste annually. Faced with an ever-growing "mountain" of waste, in 1985 the Vienna municipal authorities introduced a "Waste Management Plan" with a view to avoiding and reducing waste, utilizing waste (secondary raw materials, biogenous waste materials and utilization of energy contained in waste) and proper disposal of hazardous waste. Over the past few years a concerted effort has been made to educate and mobilize the public. Today the consciousness for reducing the waste stream and particularly for recycling is very high in all segments of the population. On a visible level, the recycling drive began when the city introduced large scale paper recycling. Collecting containers, not only for newspapers but for all kinds of paper and cardboard were placed in every building for weekly pick up. Later, large paper collecting containers appeared on street corners, accompanied by separate collecting containers



for clear and colored glass. Households were bombarded with flyers from the city waste department with instructions on pollution control and recycling. Within the space of a few years, the average citizen was fairly knowledgeable about ecology in general and recycling in particular, and willing to join in.

Waste dump centers were also introduced in most parts of the city for recoverables, hazardous wastes and bulk wastes. Now at several strategic points in each district, collecting containers have also been

added for beverage cans and metals. Containers for plastic foil and textiles can be found at waste dump centers. Additional drives to collect textiles are done twice a year. (These are distributed to charity organizations or made into rags.)

"The Waste Hotline," a telephone service supplied by the city to give information and also to deal with complaints, is complemented by an "Ecology

Consultant Service," which works in an advisory capacity to the public on all matters concerning waste and ecology.

The latest city recycling project was the introduction of compost containers in the outer-lying city districts in 1990. City-wide distribution is expected by late 1991, although compost containers are already available at waste dump centers. In the meantime, private composting is on the rise.

In general, merchants are cooperative

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bles. The city's biggest recycling project is a glass and can collection scheme in five of its sixteen wards, with plans to phase in only one or two more by the end of the decade. A small amount of the city's large garbage is processed by crushing it and removing steel for recycling and wood for incineration. The rest is buried. This is a poor record. Many of the smaller cities surrounding Nagoya have implemented far more effective low-cost, low-tech, source separation recycling systems.

Chubu Recycle has been working to develop a comprehensive, city-wide recycling system. Recently, disenchanted by the slow pace of action by the city government, the staff of Chubu Recycle decided to aggressively develop an independent plan for a city-wide recycling system. They managed to pull together a coalition of recyclers, trade groups, a chain store association, manufacturers, and the city. This plan calls for recycling collection points in every ward of the city, several used goods

recycling centers, repair facilities, a computerized waste and used goods exchange, a city-wide office paper recycling program, and a set of other contingencies for future phase-in. All the different members of the coalition are taking an active part in the system. For example, Chubu Recycle will supply administration and over-all coordination, the chain stores, publicity and education, provision of collection points and some initial funding. Currently the plan is still being modified and refined.

The city, tight in the grip of the techno-fixers, is still the main foot-dragger. Neighboring cities are shaming their big neighbor with innovative low-tech recycling. Citizen opposition to waste facilities continues to rise. A good example of this is the campaign to save the Fujimae Tidal Flats. This last natural tidal area is scheduled to become a landfill in the near future. The group working to save it recognized the underlying reason for the loss of the flats, namely a wasteful society and a

slothful government, and linked their campaign to recycling and waste reduction.

Because such a group has to generate funds to survive, Chubu Recycle has a few commercial enterprises aimed at promoting environmentally-friendly goods as well as earning money. One of the main products being sold now is a line of paper made of 100% post-consumer waste paper. Unlike many of the more commercially-oriented purveyors of "eco-goods" that are springing up everywhere, Chubu Recycle is maintaining a higher standard. Criteria include a high percentage of recycled contents and/or true daily utility. An important component of any recycling plan is the creation of markets for the recycled products. This is still the least well-developed area of the recycling loop, so Chubu Recycle is working hard to strengthen the markets.

Excerpted from Japan Environmental Monitor June, 1990



Land Struggles In Tahiti:

Because We Love Our Land

Pamela Osgood

Do you know where Tahiti is? That it is one island in the Society Islands which is one of 5 groups of islands making up French Polynesia? Do you know that for close to 30 years the French have been exploding nuclear bombs in Morurora? Morurora is one of the 76 islands in the Tuamotu group—all of which are atolls, and not mountainous as are most of the islands in the other groups.

The great beauty of these islands is only surpassed by the beauty and warmth of the people. The pace of life is completely different from that of industrialized countries. But as ecological problems beset this island paradise, many people are resisting and beginning to have some successes.

Moorea (a majestic island just an hour's ferry ride from Tahiti) has perhaps the most beautiful valley in the world and it belongs collectively to the people of the island. Recently a Japanese company wanted to build a Hilton next to Opunohu Bay on Moorea if the company could also have the valley (with a 90 year lease) for a golf course. The Protestant church in Moorea together with trade unions, a group of environmentalists, fishermen, the league of human rights and the independence party joined together to save this valley. Meetings were held where people spoke about wanting to preserve the valley and with only two days notice, a demonstration brought out around 400 people. When the new local government came into power, they decided to hold a referendum regarding the Japanese company's lease of the land. The government, having apparently worked with the Japanese, thought the majority of the local people would vote for the lease of the land. To their great surprise, 70% of the people voted against it! The project was stopped.

The second main land struggle this year was on Tahiti itself—in Moaroa Valley where the government wanted to let a

private company build a hydro electric dam. Tahiti has many beautiful rivers and fresh water springs abound. The word "Moaroa" actually means "very sacred". The people of Moaroa Valley feared the dam would destroy their valley. Let me explain here that most people distrust the local governments and bribery runs ram-

breeding areas of the fish. Because of pressure from "Atuatua Te Natura" the local government now allows only one area for dredging.

Of course there have been numerous land rights struggles, many of which the people have won. But the most tragic and difficult to grapple with around ecological and health issues lies in the French nuclear testing. The French have a dreadful history of irresponsibility for the workers' and native peoples' health regarding the bomb explosions themselves, the cleanup, and contamination of the workers and all the people of the Pacific. The folks who are trying most actively to end nuclear testing appear to be the independence party. And they tie it directly to attaining their inde-



Tahitian Protestor's Sign: "Because We Love Our Land"

pant. In this case the government offered land to the people putting up the resistance if the people would give up their struggle. Of course they refused. When the government refused to stop the dam project the people set up tents on the side of the road. They blocked trucks from entering the valley. The police commissioner, fearing a bloodbath if policemen were sent in, refused to do this and so the whole dam project was dropped.

On a third island, Bora Bora, several hundred kilometers away, another determined and hard working grassroots environmental group called "Atuatua Te Natura" meaning "Save the Nature" has also had a success. They've been doing a lot of educational work around different issues, one of which is the need to protect the coral reefs surrounding the island. There were about a dozen sites around the island where coral was dredged up for building materials. This was destroying the most delicate ecological balance including the

pence from France. They don't believe the French will ever just quit testing of their own volition. For this reason and many others this party is working for independence. At present they have around 10% of the vote which is certainly enough to begin to concern the French government.

The delicate balance of the ecosystem has never been more apparent to me than in French Polynesia. There is no "away." Toxic waste put upon the mountaintop runs back down, contaminating the rivers and poisoning all life along the way. Then it runs into the sea, harming the greatest natural resource, sea life. Pesticides and chemical fertilizers, used on the hillside pineapples, run directly into the bay, killing fish and destroying the livelihood of the fishermen. Yet, though life has traditionally been slow, easy and gentle in these beautiful islands, people are waking up, standing up and tying the issues together.



A Report on the 1991 Annual Gathering

The Greens at Elkins: Taking Action, Building Multi-Cultural Community

Joseph Boland

In mid-August, over 400 delegates and observers met at Davis and Elkins College in West Virginia for the Greens annual conference. Faced with a momentous agenda, what Greens accomplished at Elkins marks a historic turning point in the evolution of green politics in the United States. We completed the transition from a loose network of local chapters to a national organization based in local and state groups. We surmounted ideological differences to forge strong bonds of com-

munity with Detroit Summer and Sun Day as leading actions. And we elected our first national leadership.

The ultimately exhilarating success of the gathering could not have been predicted. Like many other delegates, I arrived in Elkins feeling apprehensive. In the preceding months a sharp conflict had erupted over the politics and structure of the organization [see "Prelude to Elkins," page 53]. Would we have a "unified structure" (seen by many as crucial to the principal of democratic

accountability to the membership), or two or more autonomous organizations loosely linked

to the membership)? To pursue multi-cultural, multi-issue grassroots alliances, eventually forming a broad alternative for fundamental change (with electoral efforts judged by how they contributed to this)? Or to emphasize winning reforms electorally, requiring organizational efficiency and political flexibility as paramount values (with movement-building judged by its capacity to contribute to electoral success)? Should we be contesting the form of political power or striving to win elections within the current system? Was it necessary to choose between these alternatives, or was it better to allow different tendencies wide rein?

We faced other challenges as well. In the past, national leadership was regarded as a dangerous concentration of power, and we had refused to have any. But as pressure built for coordinated national action, the "Interregional Committee" (IC) of rotating delegates succumbed to decision-making paralysis and chaotic process, holding its last meeting early in 1990. Since then we had adopted a new national structure. We seemed poised to put the IC

Greens Set National Action Plans for 1992—See Pages 2-3, 49

munity. We saw the formation of the Green Justice Caucus, which brought together activists of color, women, youth, gays and lesbians, and the differently-abled. We adopted an inspired national action plan based on the themes "solar power through community power" and "500 Years of Resistance and Dignity,"

under the rubric of "lateral accountability"? Specifically at issue was the status of the Green Party Organizing Committee (GPOC), a formation of Green activists that, over the past year, had become increasingly autonomous.

The Greens' political aims formed a subtext to this debate. What were our am-

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Keynotes

The Friday night keynote speakers sounded themes ranging from the exuberant optimism of Beth Ising of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), to the historical perspectives of activist/author Brian Tokar, to the personal-as-political reflections of Margo Adair.

The fourth keynote speaker, Sulaiman Mahdi, has been a freedom fighter for 27 years. This led to ecological work, and that led to getting land and protecting the land so it is sustainable. He was a founder of the Atlanta Greens, involved in the People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, and has been active in fighting toxic waste and racism:

"My concerns are basically philosophical—that people of color, people in general, need some type of apparatus to support our beliefs—a party—something. For national politics, I support Ron Daniels (for President in 1992). We must deal with municipalities, states, national and international politics.

"To Think Globally and Act Locally bothers me. I have problem with acting different than I think. I want to think & act globally and think and act locally.

"It is well meaning to talk about 'grassroots,' but there is more to building cultural diversity. Minorities should be in places of leadership in the [national] Greens and on the local level working to organize and to bring in new members. It is both/and—not either/or. It is National/Local."

Sulaiman Mahdi

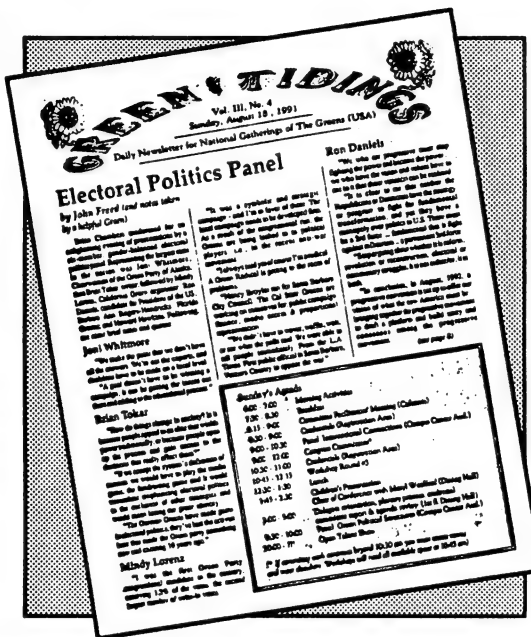
Electoral Panel

Saturday evening before the Reggae dance there was a panel discussion on electoral politics, covering both organizing strategies and the ongoing debate over the relative priority of electoral work within the Green movement. Following are some brief notes and quotes from some participants.

Joni Whitmore, chairwoman of the Alaska Green Party (the only Green Party in the United States with official ballot status):

"We make the point that we don't have all the answers. We're not the experts, and that decisions have to be made by the people on a local level.

"A goal doesn't have to be winning a campaign, it can be getting the issues out there and adding to the educational process."



party something new and exciting 10 years ago."

Mindy Lorenz, California Green Party activist:

"I was the first Green Party Congressional candidate in the country, receiving 1.2% of the votes, the 2nd largest number of write-in votes.

"It was a symbolic and strategic campaign—and I'm in favor of those. The local campaign needs to be developed first."

Ron Daniels, who is exploring running as an independent candidate for President who was at the Gathering for several days:

"We who are progressive must stop fighting the power and become the power... we who have the vision and values have to see to it that those visions can be realized.

"Stop arguing about whether it is reform, revolution or reconstruction; electoral or community struggles, it is not either/or, it is both."

What is the Green Justice Caucus and where in the green did IT come from???

By Mary Moore, Sonoma County, California Rainbow Greens

Good question and probably one that would require chopping down an old-growth forest to answer in complete detail. It was birthed from the pits of despair and delivered from the pinnacles of joy to the Green Congress on Monday night. The labor pains were (and still are) long and tortuous and deeply rooted in history. They began last Saturday night when the people of color and women's caucuses sat down together to begin to deal with the snakepit of racism, sexism and classism..

For those of you trying to sleep in the vicinity of the International Dorm Lounge you now know what was keeping you

Brian Tokar, Green activist and author:

"How do things change in society? Is it because people appeal to an elite that wields power traditionally, or because people open up the process and gain access to the decisions that really affect them?"

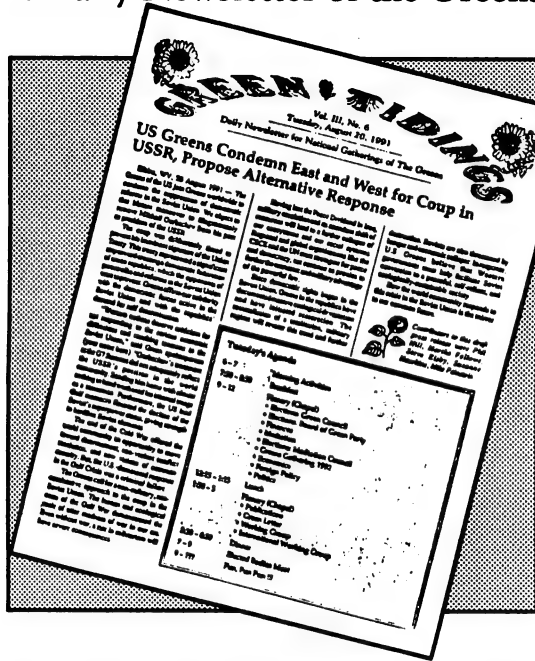
"If we accept the system's definition of success, we would have to play the media game, the fundraising game and it would necessitate emphasizing electoral politics to the exclusion of other strategies and would mean losing our green identity."

Brian expressed disappointment with Green parties that wanted to get ballot access before going to the streets. Pointing to the German Greens, he observed that they "made gains in electoral politics, but they lost the activist base that made the Green

Green Justice

the Daily Newsletter of the Greens Gathering

green news



a just world. Anyone can be a part of this effort and in my opinion should be.

One last point—for those of you who feel oppressed by the artificial tyranny of excess structure in meetings I pledge to you that as long as I remain a part of this effort we will not dissolve into a piece of paper with circles, arrows and orbiting circles.

Gender Politics

A Men's Circle met several times during the Gathering, during which a small but dedicated group of men addressed gender issues. In an article in Green Tidings, Hugh Esco of Atlanta wrote:

Patriarchal behavior requires some revolutionary honesty... It is necessary for us to own up to the ways in which we compete with each other, the ways that we dominate within our relationships (both with women and with other men), the ways in which we objectify and dehumanize women and men when we see them as

tits and ass, cock or cunt.

We can't fight racism by being colorblind. I only learned of my responsibility to undo racism once I had acknowledged my own racism. So too with patriarchy. Only when we get honest with ourselves, *really* honest, about sexist and homophobic behaviors and thoughts; only when we acknowledge our own personal history, can we begin to prepare ourselves to politicize the issues of patriarchy and address its institutional nature.

Green Program Changes

The Revisions of the "Strategy and Policy in Key Areas" (SPAKA) Program of the Greens will be covered in the winter issue of Green Letter. For information before then, contact the Greens Clearinghouse (see inside back cover).

awake! It was a birth—a very painful and noisy one and it lasted all night. As Valerie so succinctly put it "Sometimes you just can't transcend the shit!" And she's right! If you rise above it it means it's still there. Sometimes you just have to go through it and it isn't pretty and it stinks!! I would love to report here that we are the first group of people on the planet to transform the shit into compost in one session but you all know I would be full of it if I did. But we're on the path.

For those of you who are structure freaks (and I know you're out there) I will explain the form of the Green Justice Caucus. I have observed that Greenies love to speak in initials so henceforth this caucus will be known as the G.J.'s or Geejays! The Geejays is the umbrella for all the sub-caucuses including but not limited to women, people of color, lesbian, gay and bisexual, working people, differently-abled, youth and elders. In other words, the Patchwork Majority!! (I can see the hands flapping in the air as I write.)

I see no reason why there could not be a M.E.N. (men evolving nonviolently) caucus that would include *all* men wanting to unlearn domination and learn how to share privilege and power. It takes a conscious effort you know!

In other words as the Geejays grow and we learn to split the pie more evenly we will be developing the model to create



Davis & Elkins College: the spired chapel, where most plenaries took place, is at right



Gay and Green

Here are some thoughts about the Gathering from the perspective of a Queer nationalist/separatist. I have come away from the Gathering filled with a feeling of euphoria. My ex-lover said to me recently that many women had dropped out of the Greens because they felt that issues of women's oppression were not being addressed seriously enough. We can add to this that Queer people, the handicapped and persons of color are almost entirely absent from the Greens.

At the Gathering, however, I felt a willingness to look critically inside ourselves with "revolutionary honesty" and ultimately an openness to working together. If we continue on our present course, we have nothing to fear, and our movement will grow and integrate itself into coalitions.

There has traditionally been a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" choice to be made for oppressed groups when it comes to straight-white-middle-class-male organizations: Join and be subsumed, or maintain integrity and separation outside these organizations. Those organizations, however, are often the ones with the resources to effect social change. This is not to say that separatist organizations cannot be effective. They can. But working together we have a better chance of success and of effecting lasting change.

Were Queer people added to the Green Justice Caucus as an afterthought? Maybe so, but we were added, I believe, because of my personal outspoken pressure

at the Gathering. The lesson is, "Silence = Death," or at least invisibility, so, "Silent No More!" In other words, get up and holler if you're being overlooked. The Greens have shown the will to listen to all.

To end with a few personal remarks, I felt safe and at home at the Gathering, but I also felt very isolated as possibly the only gay man there. I don't know a remedy for this feeling. I feel very isolated from other

Green activists in Durham too. The Greens feel like an anarchist creed to me, so anarchist in fact that you don't even have to be an anarchist to belong. That's what Greenness is all about, and that's what was reaffirmed for me at this Gathering.

by Johann Moore,
Durham, North Carolina

(Edited by Green Letter. Full version available upon request.)

Who am I?

somebody asked me who are you.

I haven't seen you before, you must be new.

Where are you from and what do you do and why haven't I heard about you?

I want to know if you follow my rules and I want to know if you have paid your dues. I stand by the door of the organization you know and I get to say if you're a part of the show.

Have you read this literature, do you think like I do? Do you buy cotton or polyester clothing? Can you quote with aplomb the correct authors, do you wear tie-dyed clothes on your day off, do you consume the bodies of dead animals at your luncheon with the boss? Are you my kind of ethnic, will you think along my lines, will you spout the official party line?

What I really want to know, are you just what I think you should be and can I depend on you to be just like me??

Well I listened to the question, thought about the answer

came to the conclusion that yes I was trouble like a capital T, because my intention was to be just like me, and maybe that meant

unapproved by you, so you think that my background is not up to snuff and for that you're willing to play kind of rough, well you had me on the ropes, in fact I went and coiled some rope, but I came to the conclusion it just popped into my head that reactions like yours (which I thought quite frankly dead) were really trying to mess with my dreadlocked head and upset me and stop me and turn me around to keep me from thinking the greens really know how to get down.

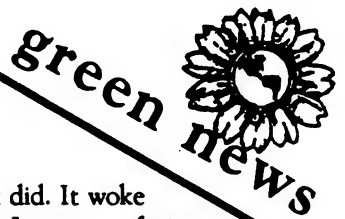
Back home the lost generation is being bandied around town and recently right across my street, not way across town, we saw a baby tumble from the second floor to the ground and right next door on the second floor a mother turned on the gas, left and closed the door on her three sleeping kids. Two weeks later I attended a stop the killing rally, focused on the street shootout which killed a 6 yr. old girl. Lead poisoned more than three hundred children in my city last week, one boy died of asthma in his bed, the death rate for the babies in our cities equals that of Bangladesh, and young white boys are shooting themselves to death, so I know what you say is important But I can't hear it because of the screaming in my ears. So excuse me if I don't fit your criteria and excuse me if I don't fight.

I'm spending so much time trying to give the children in my community some basic rights.

Morning Sunday, Baltimore, Maryland



Leadership at the Green Gathering



The Elkins Green Gathering posed many problems. Underneath them all was the issue of leadership in an organization that adopts post-patriarchy as one of its highest values.

As a white heterosexual man who takes leadership responsibilities with some regularity, this issue hit home with a vengeance. What follows is a personal description of the issues I confronted in struggling with leadership and patriarchy within myself and the Greens.

Ironically, for me as an individual it was a conflict between the style of Green leadership I advocate and the role I had chosen for myself within the Green movement. I say "ironically" because of a contradiction between my words and deeds.

I am struggling with whether or not appropriate leaders for the Greens are those individuals who have personal initiative and hence are self-promoting, as opposed to those who emerge as leaders and are supported by others. I have been socialized to accept those leaders who bring and sustain initiative to the group. Is this legitimate for the Greens?

Because of my experiences and professional background in management I felt that I could play a vital role on the Green Council. I submitted my name to my local for nomination to the GC as a delegate from our region, and I wrote a letter of nomination for myself to mail to other locals in our region. This was the self-promoting style of leadership which I now hold in question.

The Green Justice Juggernaut

Through the various sessions of the Gathering, Green Justice began to form as a coalition of the People of Color; Women; Youth; Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual; and Differently-Abled Caucuses. Within meetings of Green Justice, a process was started to nominate individuals within this coalition to the Green Council and Coordinating Committee. One of the nominees from

Green Justice to the GC was a close friend from my own local, Valerie Ackerman.

Wham! Green Justice hit about as close to home as possible. Our region had previously accepted the nominations of myself and Ann Woods from Minneapolis. We were now confronted with a choice between Valerie and me. Before the plenary, somebody suggested that we all act as a regional collective, Valerie and Ann holding the GC seats with others of us in



support. I stated that it would take some getting used to, that I would be going through a "letting-go" process.

But as people re-entered the plenary I stayed outside feeling somehow betrayed, rejected. I cried to help release what was pent up inside me. This became very disturbing to those around me. Valerie came out and held me as I heaved deep sobs.

It was mentioned that I had been nominated to the Coordinating Council. Ashamed of my response to what had occurred, I went in and asked that my name be removed from nomination. I felt like I was throwing a temper tantrum.

What ensued is not entirely clear in my mind. Some schisms in our local were starting to show. Resurfacing the decision that put Valerie and myself in a win/lose contest made us all feel conflicted.

Loose Cannons

The juggernaut issued by Green Justice was not only a cannonball fired at the dominant white coalition within the Greens, but it also was a "loose" cannon. The form taken was of challenging statements and initial leadership.

I for one am glad that Green Justice

did what it did. It woke me up and I am now facing some issues that I had been able to ignore or only treat academically.

Later that evening we talked through the issues I was confronting—the value of Green leadership being emergent as opposed to self-promoting, my inability freely to let go, the pressure I was feeling from the others to "do the right thing."

We all worked through what was happening. If by some turn of events I stayed on the Green Council, I would be a lightening rod of derision for those who did not feel I had truly let go. I decided to step aside and decline my nomination as a delegate from our region.

Valerie's response was: "Stepping aside was the point—your understanding that it would be the right thing to do. I can now support you in that position on the Green Council." People shouted for joy! I had let go! Later Valerie accepted a position on the Advisory Council.

The two issues which stand out in my mind are (1) taking the necessary amount of time, and (2) treating each other with due respect. Now that I have "let go," my question to the others who encouraged a win/lose situation is, "Why couldn't you have talked with me in advance?" If I had not felt so alone, isolated, and pushed aside I would likely have behaved very differently.

We need to take our time in decision-making. If we are to value emergent leaders over those who are self-initiated we need more time. In addition to having more effective leadership, we will have better understanding among ourselves.

Of the three Gatherings I have attended, I learned and grew the most at this one. I still have a lot of work to do. Thanks to people in my own local, region, Green Justice, and all the other friends I made, I am much further along. Thank you, all!

by Brian Chambers, Huron Valley Greens, Ann Arbor, Michigan

This is an edited version of Brian's article. The complete version appeared in the September Greens Bulletin, available from the Clearinghouse. See inside back cover.



Green Elephants

There were elephants. Not the Pink elephants of a drug-induced paranoia, but Green Elephants. Big hulking shapes that no one wanted to talk about.



To acknowledge them would be dangerous, we said, "Never look the beast in the eye—it might see your fear." They were dangerous, but maybe, just maybe if we ignored the elephants they'd go away. Or if they didn't go away, perhaps we'd find a way to live with them, change them into something else. Or perhaps these elephants would do what the old elephants could never be trained to do—perhaps we could get these elephants to forget!

Yeah that was the ticket! We didn't need to look our elephants in the eye to deal with them because we were Greens, we were fully evolved, and we could control our elephants. The Good Old Boys weren't as clever as we were. They've always been tripped up by their elephants who never forget, sometimes actually had elephants fall from the sky when they hoisted them, in high hopes of hiding them. And we all know stories of the GOB's getting crushed when their elephants got too big and started becoming visible even to the blind media.

But we were young in our wondrous vision of a supremely just society and we were invincible. We'd learned a thing or two from the mistakes others have made and we would not make those same mistakes. We were striving to be multi-cultural. We were committed to gender balance. We cared about a myriad of problems, no single issues for us. We wanted to create ecotopia. We were so full of ourselves and our pubescent heightened awareness that we could not fail. In the face of all that wisdom all creatures would soon forget whatever they knew.

Except... Except those damn ele-

phants! They kept hanging around reminding people of things. We were so smart. We knew we could do what no one else has ever done before. It was so simple. All we had to do was heed the advice from the Green therapists and talk about the elephants with each other, then the elephants would lose their power to never forget. We would just say, as we were finishing our deals, "Now then, are there any elephants that we haven't talked about here? Any hidden agendas that have not been brought to the table? None? Oh well then it seems we are in true agreement, let's go tell the rest of the folks what innovative decisions we have made."

But it was only a trick, a bit of sleight-of-hand. Actually, it took many hands. The hands of the intrepid handlers as they corralled the beasts, bound them in chains, staked the chains to the ground and held on tight so that the elephants could not get into the negotiating rooms and make

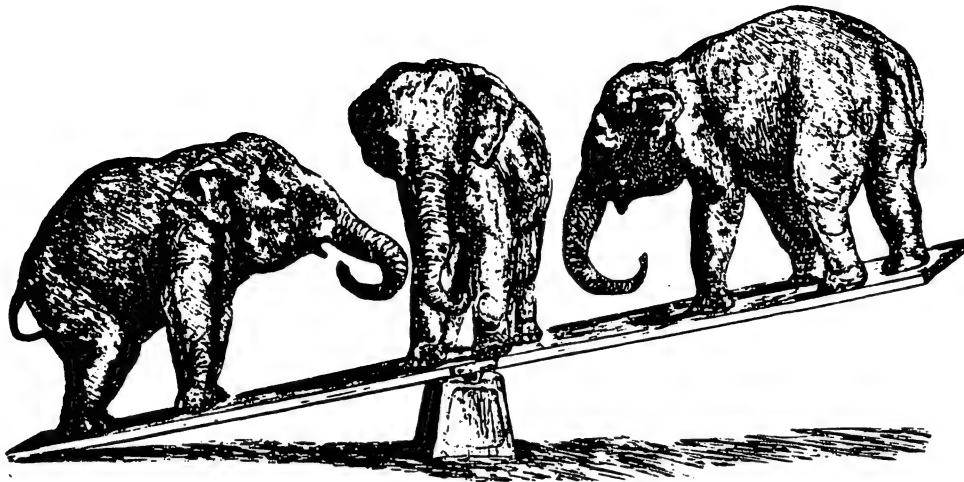
we could have "unity". We'd part carefully though, being sure to hug and weep. It was draining keeping the elephants under control, but we knew we could go back to our locals and rest easy, taking our elephants with us where they would graze freely in our meetings, in our relationships, and in our communities. We wouldn't even have to try to hide them because back home among friends we trusted, the elephants could do no harm.

Or could they? We fed them so well that they were growing at astounding rates. We nourished them with a diet so rich in dogma, rhetoric, and canned wisdom, not to mention the occasional well-aged doctrine that soon we needed to consider getting handlers for our local meetings too.

We never thought we'd come to this, but people expect the Greens to have a shiny new set of values. And they expect us to be living examples of a new vision free from domination, prejudice, aggression, ignorance. How would we ever find the time to show the newcomers that we meant what it said in our Program? How would we convince them that we were completely

non-hierarchical, non-patriarchal, non-centralist, non-sexist, non-ego-motivated, non-racist, non-earth-damaging, non-single-minded, and non-nonsensical when we were so busy with our demanding elephant? Why couldn't they all just take our word for it and help us care for the damn critter?

"Hey, wait a minute," a dreamer said. "What if we just stopped feeding the ele-



us remember. It was brilliant! The negotiations could proceed undisturbed because the handlers were so skilled in holding onto the elephants. The negotiators could honestly look each other in the eye and say, "I have brought no elephant with me. Nope, no elephants from my side will spoil this deal. What you see is what you get. Trust me."

And so the deals could be made and

Green Parties Establish State Contacts

Many states now have Green Party organizing committees and groups.

Contact people have agreed to act as

conduits for information about politics in their respective states. The list grew out of the national Green Party Organizing work and since the August Gathering continues to evolve under the unified Greens structure. Please use these contacts to exchange platform and strategy information or for any other communication that might facil-

itate the development of a Green political presence.

Contact me or the Greens Clearinghouse for more information.

John H. Goeke 821 N. Duke St., Lancaster, PA 17602. (717) 394-9110.



Party/Movement Structure Work Group Needs Input

At the recent Green Gathering an Ad Hoc Working Group was formed to work out the structures and connections between the Green Parties of the various states and the national Greens.

The working group is hereby soliciting your help. We would primarily like two things. First we want a list of *questions* that people feel need to be considered. Second we would like your comments and statements on how things should be structured and connected.

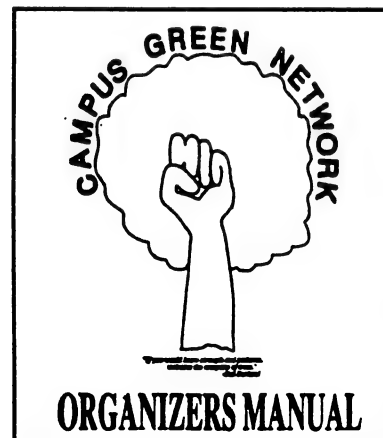
Please send your questions, comments, and advice to Greg Gerritt, RFD #1 Box #1182A, Industry, ME 04938. Greg is the acting secretary for the working group.

The Campus Green Network Needs You!

The Campus Green Network calls on all Green locals and interested individuals to help us expand. Please order a Student Organizers Manual from us and pass it on to students in your area.

Also, we will be starting our national newsletter this fall. Subscriptions are only \$8.

Our new address is: Campus Green Network, 1086 Redmond Rd, Eureka CA 95501, (707) 443-3289.



phants?" "What? Stop feeding our elephants? Are you crazy? The Humane Society for New Age Thought Control would be all over us in a minute. Stop feeding our elephants indeed," grumbled the doubtful one who liked to stick with the familiar.

"No, really, if we stopped feeding and controlling our elephants, maybe we could put that extra energy and commitment to work on living out the ten key values and creating a truly just society. Instead of feeding the elephants their dogma diet, and using handlers to keep them under control, we could start talking openly and honestly about our concerns with the other folks' ideas and start listening, really hearing their concerns about ours."

"Wait a minute, are you saying that we would need to stop engaging in covert strategizing, selective conference calling, nasty letter writing, endless diatribing against the character of fellow Greens?"

"That's what I'm proposing."

"And we'd have to start telling people what we really are trying to do, (gulp) you want us to stop acting like the CIA?"

"Yep."

"And we'd have to drag our elephants

back into the meetings with us instead of letting the handlers hold them down?"

"Well, only at first, because after a while, after we stop allowing the key players to make all of the decisions instead of trusting the grassroots wisdom, after we stop lying and admit our biases, and after we start living up to the values we want everyone else to live up to, after we begin to walk around in the other Greens' shoes, after all of that—the Green elephants will tire of our boring honesty and sincerity. They'd have nothing left to do since we would be doing our own remembering and they wouldn't be able to force us to do it. The elephants will go back to the Republican herd where they can wallow in the muck with the jack-asses of the Democratic herd. In short, they will be transformed into Red-White-and-Blue elephants!"

"Wow," the doubtful one sighed, "that's a lot to ask. We are Americans. It is our God-given right to obfuscate our intentions and treat others as though we are their moral and intellectual superiors. It is the backbone of the American way. It is what has kept our society and European societies together and functioning all of

these many centuries. We can't just walk away from these habits. It could be traumatic. We could be endangered by the government spy network which lurks in our midst if we are open and honest. We'd be too vulnerable."

"Yes," the dreamer challenged. "But remember the weight of the Green elephants-of-secrets. That weight could crush us just as surely as we have been crushed by the Red-White-and-Blue elephants and jack-asses. If we keep feeding our animals and the Good Old Boys keep feeding theirs it won't matter which one does us in. What do we have to lose?"

"Face," was the doubter's only reply.

Valerie Ackerman





Ageism in the Greens

Well... I guess we've made a little progress. Young people at the gathering have now gone from being largely ignored to being tokenized.

At the August Gathering, the youth caucus has been invited to join the "Green Justice" group of marginalized people in the Greens, also including women, people of color, and gays/lesbians/bisexuals. Somehow, though, we were forgotten during the development of all this and brought into Green Justice after most decisions seem to have been worked through.

Jason Kirkpatrick and I (the only youth caucus members I believe they could find at the time) were notified that Green Justice had decided to give the youth caucus representation. So we came over and sat in on a corner of the proceedings.

I was interested to note that nobody welcomed us, and few seemed to acknowledge our presence by even looking at us and smiling. I noticed that it took maybe ten minutes before anyone speaking remembered to include "youth" in the list of groups represented there.

Neither Jason nor I completely understood what was going on, but we soon caught on that some kind of council body was being formed. Jason then raised his hand to ask about this and if the youth caucus had a representative on this board.

We found out that we did and that the group had already picked a representative, Amy Belanger, for us. I thought that this was a little curious, since Amy hadn't been part of the youth caucus at the gathering. I certainly feel that Amy would do an excellent job representing us, but I was confused as to how she was chosen.

I asked the group this question, and got the idea that they somehow chose her for us. Not wanting to offend anyone, I tried to gently bring up the point that this seemed a little strange. "Just take her" was the immediate response from many people, with the apparent implication that she is a woman and someone they would prefer. I'm afraid neither Jason nor I is a member of any other oppressed group besides being youth, but we were the actual youth caucus members present.

This shocked me a little bit at the time (immediately afterwards, upon thinking about it, I became increasingly shocked), but not wanting to cause controversy, I kept silent. Feeling a great deal of pressure from the group, I agreed that it was okay for Amy to be our representative, even though I knew that this decision wasn't mine to make, but rather that of the youth caucus as a whole.

Revolutionary Relationships

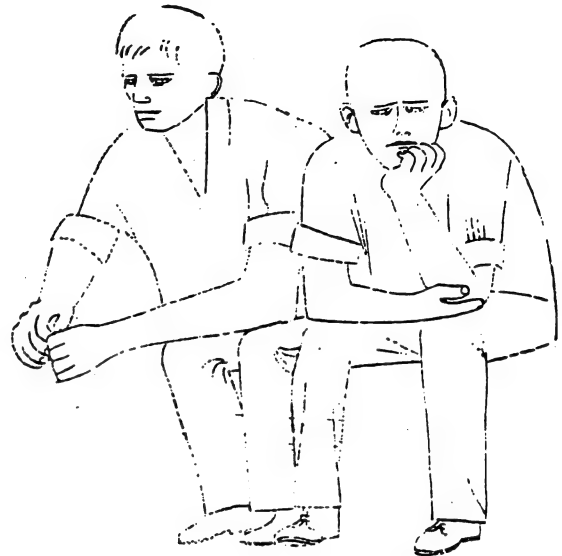
Allow me at this point to quote a bit of the statement the youth caucus wrote at the Gathering for *Green Tidings*:

"One should wonder why there are so few of us here. For the Greens to be relevant to the struggles of young people, we need to be decentralized, community-based, fully participatory and pertinent to the conditions young people face. We must develop revolutionary relationships between one and other, between ourselves and other activists, other beings, our surroundings, and the world environment."

Where are the revolutionary relationships here? It seems that women, people of color and gays who are non-youth treat us no different than the way we are usually treated by "adults" as a whole. This is called "ageism," and all non-youth—male and female, white and black and every color under the sun—must understand this

dynamic and work to undo it.

Why do you think the Youth Greens split off two years ago? If youth continue to



be marginalized and treated this way, the Greens will never see more young people active in the organization than are present now. Where do you people think the organizers of tomorrow in your locals will come from?

We are not children. We are intelligent and responsible youth able to make decisions for ourselves. If the Green Justice group wants to include young people within its ranks, they must give us more than token representation. Our caucus must be allowed to make its decisions for itself, and further must be involved in the Green Justice group's decision-making process from the beginning. Our views must be taken seriously; we must be respected.

Eric Odell

Reports from Green Locals

Because of our extensive coverage of the 1991 Greens Gathering, we have had to hold several articles from Green groups and individuals. These include:

- "Community Among the Greens," by Barbara Ann Rodgers-Hendricks
- Organizing against hazardous waste incineration by Rhone-Poulenc in northern Indiana
- "The Radical Middle," an essay by Phil Rose
- "Wetlands: The Environment on the Chopping Block," by members of the Northeast Ohio Greens

For information on any of these articles, contact Green Letter.

Green Action Plan 1992



At the August Gathering, the Greens adopted three national actions for the upcoming year.

Detroit Summer

Detroit, Michigan, was once a center of the U. S. auto industry and a magnet of hope for thousands of African American people seeking a better life. Now, in the wake of massive plant closings and the gutting of the social safety net, it has become a symbol of urban devastation and drug-induced violence.

In spite of all this, the people in the inner city struggle to rebuild their communities, interrupt the cycle of violence and work to create a vision of a New Detroit. Following the examples of Mississippi Freedom Summer and Redwood Summer, we propose that the Greens, in cooperation with the Detroit Greens, the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), and a large network of grassroots organizations in Detroit, contribute to this renewal process through a 1992 summer project: Detroit Summer.

The model offered by this pilot project could be replicated in other cities in the future.

The Role of the Greens

The national Greens would provide a key leadership role in initiating this project. This would include raising funds for a staff person from the Detroit community to coordinate the project. The Detroit Greens are ready to coordinate the project with community groups in Detroit, and will announce Detroit Summer at a community festival, involving 150 community groups, on November 16. Green locals could raise funds to send people to Detroit. These people would return to convey their experiences and share newly acquired skills in multicultural organizing and urban community self-reliance.

*Presented by Roberto Mendoza,
Casco Bay Greens*

**Detroit activists prepare for 'Detroit Summer'—
see page 2**

500 Years of Resistance and Dignity

Through "500 Years of Resistance and Dignity" Greens will take part in a multifaceted effort to make the quincentennial of Columbus's "discovery" of America a celebration of cultural diversity and an opportunity for multi-cultural education, not an homage to conquest, plunder, and imperialism.

Many groups nationwide are already organizing for 500 Years activities. This campaign will provide opportunities for alliances with Native American and other grassroots groups challenging the traditional interpretation of the "discovery" of the Americas.

For more on the 500 Years Campaign, see page 15

Green Letter welcomes reports on organizing for any of these action plans

Earth/Sun Day 1992

The Greens have agreed to work with other groups organizing "Sun Day" activities around Earth Day 1992. "Solar power through community power" articulates the Green alternative to the Bush-Sununu National Energy Strategy (NES). The tripling of nuclear power plants and vast expansion of oil drilling proposed in the NES is meant very seriously; a bill to enact it is already before Congress. Greens believe both in alternative, ecologically-benign energy sources and in democratic control over energy policy.

Additional Information on these plans can be obtained from the Greens Clearinghouse—see inside back cover



Delegates gathered in the shadow of Halliehurst Hall to discuss proposals during the Congress portion of the Gathering

1991 Greens Gathering

continued from page 41

era behind us, but still had to select our national leadership.

In addition, the Elkins conference would see far greater participation by activists from communities of color than ever before, giving Greens the opportunity to act on a commitment to multi-cultural alliance building. I wondered, though, how well we would navigate through the obstacles that racism creates to understanding and cooperation.

Something to Write Home About: What the Greens Accomplished at Elkins

Action Plan — Greens unanimously adopted "Solar power through community power," and "500 Years of Resistance and Dignity" as themes for national action in 1992, along with Detroit Summer and Sun Day as major actions. (see articles, pages 2-3 and 49).

Coordinated National Structure — Greens agreed to a structure that preserves unity and coordination nationally while accepting a more complex membership base. We will be establishing a Green Party USA as one arm of the green movement, with members of its board elected at annual Green Congresses. State Green parties are free to develop their own membership groups, while general features of Green electoral policy will be determined by the Green Congress and the Green Party board. State Green parties will be accredited by the Green Party USA.

Green Justice — The formation of the Green Justice caucus marks a significant step along the path to a multi-cultural green community. Like many other social change movements in the United States, the green movement began life as an expression of new middle class, predominantly Euro-American politics. The principles Greens espoused, however, were not narrow class interests; they were meant to articulate the common good of citizens and the biosphere. In order to

honor this commitment to multi-cultural solidarity Greens have had to take the path of reconstructing their own identity through dialogue and alliance with kindred groups. Perhaps the most difficult moment in this process is the initial one of moving from rhetoric to action. Through the formation of Green Justice, despite the rough edges and moments of confusion that resulted from its improvisational beginnings, a new green movement is emerging. Green Justice amplifies within the Greens the voices of the under-represented in our society and will likely catalyze similar efforts in Green locals and regions.

Green Foreign Policy — Greens added to their political program a statement on foreign and military policy that clearly sets us apart from the feeble reform proposals of Democrats. Saying "it is time to stop cowering down before the military-industrial complex, which is devouring public resources for power and profit," Greens advocate:

- An immediate 95% cut in military spending;
- Abolition of the CIA and other covert operations agencies, and an end to secret diplomacy;
- Replacement of the standing army with militias under citizens control;
- Self-determination, non-intervention, human rights and democracy, and equitable and ecological economic development as basic principles for peace;
- Total economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa until a

new, democratically elected government is established;

• Support for a just peace between Israel and Palestine based on Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, recognition of the PLO as legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Economics — To the existing economics statement we added a call for "fair trade, not free trade" and support for a "generous minimum wage indexed to inflation." New language emphasizing a non-dogmatic approach to economic restructuring was also adopted. It reads in part: "Diversity is a prime principal of ecology and we believe it should be a guiding principle of economics. Today our economy entails nearly total domination by for-profit corporate enterprise. The corporate sector has failed to meet human needs and has consistently abused the environment. Therefore we will work to promote alternative economic structures that put human needs ahead of profits and that are accountable to the communities in which they function."

Ron Daniels' Presidential Campaign — We heard Ron Daniels, long-time activist and former executive director of the National Rainbow Coalition, speak about his presidential campaign plans. Declaring that "movements are more important than charismatic leaders," Daniels called for a

continued on page 57

Keep in Touch with Green Party Organizing

Green Paper

Green Paper is the official newsletter of the Green Party Organizing Caucus. Each issue contains the latest news and analysis of third party organizing, letters, book reviews, and more. Reports from many states and regions are included.

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If you want to participate in Green Party organizing, or if you just want to keep up on Green Party goings-on around the country, and the debates that are happening among party organizers, send \$25 to Green Paper, Box 39, Huntington, NY 11743-1039.

Prelude to Elkins

The Greens national organization consisted at first of only a clearinghouse, later coming to include an "Interregional Committee" (IC) of regional delegates. Extreme wariness of leadership and of the concentration of power bred decision-making paralysis and chaotic process. The IC, widely regarded as hopelessly dysfunctional, held its last meeting early in 1990.

Two divergent responses to this crisis emerged: an organizational restructuring project, and the formation of the Green Party Organizing Committee (GPOC). The activists who launched the GPOC responded to widespread impatience with the paralysis and chaotic process of the IC. It soon became apparent, however, that while some envisioned the GPOC as a network supporting Green electoral activists, others saw it as the genesis of a new organization. Under the influence of the latter group, the GPOC began to operate in an increasingly autonomous fashion, with some members of its Steering Council calling for the severance of structural ties with the Greens. In the meantime, a proposal establishing a restructuring working group passed the Estes Park Greens Congress in September, 1990.

The restructuring working group published its draft proposal for a new national structure in January, 1991. Among its major features were a seven member national executive (the Coordinating Committee), a 22 member national legislative body (the Green Council), a Mediation Council,

and a new regional structure that abandoned bioregional boundaries in favor of political ones while reducing the total number of regions to 11. In an effort to accommodate the GPOC, the draft proposal called for allocating half the seats on the Green Council to it. This produced a storm of criticism and several counter-proposals. The draft proposal was faulted for being anti-democratic (it ignored prior expressions of Greens opinion on the role of electoralism, violated the one-person, one-vote principal, and severed the GPOC

from accountability to the Greens membership), for threatening to destroy the Greens capacity to act as an alternative to politics-as-usual, and for engendering disabling forms of competition and organizational complication. When the restructuring proposal was voted on in the spring, allocation of seats to the GPOC was soundly defeated in favor of a proposal allowing each region to elect two delegates.

green news



Facilitation Workshops with Caroline Estes

Caroline Estes offers three and five day workshops in consensus process and group facilitation. Her skills and experience, particularly her ability to integrate consensus-seeking with the use of voting and parliamentary procedure, have been vital elements in the success of recent annual gatherings.

We expect to choose our workshop schedule from among the following weekends: 2/1/92, 2/15/92 (Presidents' day weekend), 2/29/92, 3/28/92, and 4/4/92.

If you want more information, contact:

Joseph Boland 235 E. 2nd Ave. #9, Eugene, OR 97401 (503) 485-7353,
or Caroline Estes, Alpha Farm, Deadwood, OR 97430 (503) 964-5102.

Despite the decisiveness of this vote, the GPOC Steering Council was unwilling to regard the issue as settled. From a late June meeting of the GPOC leadership came a statement declaring it "premature to endorse any proposal defining the specific relationship between the GPOC and the Greens." Following this was a six point proposal defining a relationship of ambiguous proximity between the two organizations. It envisioned the continued existence of the GPOC along with the creation of an electoral action working group within the Greens, and announced the GPOC's decision to meet in conjunction with the Greens annual gathering. Thus the stage was set for the Elkins conference.

Joseph Boland

Third Party politics take shape for 1992

"Be careful what you wish for..."

This article is a summary of a discussion paper that appears in the October Greens Bulletin. It is offered as a way to frame a discussion by Greens of new developments in independent politics that will affect our work in the coming year.

Since their launching in August 1984, the U.S. Greens have aspired to create an independent political organization. We have envisioned a new politics of participatory democracy, active inside and outside the electoral/legislative arena, bringing together the popular social movements around a common program based on the "four pillars" of Green politics: ecology, peace, social justice, and grassroots democracy.

From 1984 to 1991, the Greens have pursued this aspiration against the current. Most of the activists in the constituencies to which the Greens wanted to appeal—environmentalists, peace activists, women, people of color, and the middle and lower economic strata of society—were oriented toward the promise of a Rainbow Coalition that would unite these constituencies in an effort to reform the Democratic Party (or, in the minds of the left wing of the Rainbow movement, create the critical mass for a breakaway independent Rainbow Party). The Rainbow Coalition never became a membership-controlled organization, but the majority of radical activists were nonetheless swept into the Democratic Party. In spite of this trend, the Green movement has grown, with more than 300 local groups and 22 Greens elected to office in 14 cities and counties, more than any national independent political movement since the Farmer-Labor parties of the 1930s.

Suddenly, things have changed in latter half of 1991. Disaffection with the Democrats hasn't been greater in decades. Ron Daniels, the former Executive Director of the Rainbow Coalition who has a long history in independent black politics, is organizing an independent presidential campaign as a vehicle to build the kind of

people's organization that Rainbow Coalition was promised to be, but outside the Democratic Party. Tony Mazzochi of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, who is the most prominent proponent in the labor movement of Green-type economic



and ecological reforms, is spearheading a new organization, Labor Party Advocates, which hopes to pull the trade unions out of the Democratic Party and into an independent labor party.

N.O.W. Sets a Timeline

And then on September 15, the National Organization for Women's Commission on Responsive Democracy put this whole trend on to a timeline. The Commission voted to call for a new independent party and from among the commissioners a Working Group was constituted to take the steps toward forming that party very quickly—in time for the 1992 elections, including a presidential/people's cabinet campaign.

The Greens have always wished that these social forces would move toward independent politics. Now they are. "Be careful what you wish for," the old saying goes. "You might get it." It is encouraging that there is so much movement toward independent politics. But for the Greens, the key question is whether this new independent political movement will be a new vehicle for the old politics of top-down liberal reform—or really a new politics of radical transformation from below.

A Green Perspective

So what should the Greens do in this new political situation?

First of all, the Greens should continue to develop our organization—new locals, state and regional confederations, fund raising, the Green Program, the Green Action Plan, Green candidates in 1992.

Secondly, the Greens should seek mandated representation on the NOW Commission's Working Group and bring Green politics into these discussions about a new independent political organizations (IPO). Specifically, the Greens should advocate:

- 1) internal participatory democracy—local chapters, mandated representation, etc. (a minimum condition for Green participation);
- 2) inclusive organizing—invite all independent political forces and insure ethnic and gender balance (also a minimum condition for Green participation);
- 3) a grassroots strategy, including:
 - organizing participatory locals of the IPO;
 - a combination of extraparlimentary and electoral action;
 - an emphasis on municipal elections;
 - a presidential/people's cabinet campaign only if realistically capable of shaping national debate and only if its main purpose is to organize people into the grassroots strategy of local chapter building, extraparlimentary action, and local election campaigns.
- 4) a Green-type program of radical structural changes toward grassroots political and economic democracy and new public policies for ecology, peace, and social justice.

1992?

Anything could happen in 1992. The NOW initiative could collapse when a Jackson, Hightower, or Nader enters the Democratic primaries. Most likely is a weak IPO that does not unite the potential base because it is trying to move too fast and mainly in the presidential arena. If a strong IPO does consolidate in 1992, it is

New Party Recommendation

The Commission for Responsive Democracy finds that there is a need for a new force in United States politics to ignite in the United States the revolution for democracy that is sweeping the world, in order to politically and economically empower all people of the United States. Fueled by the public disgust with the massive, unprecedented corruption, greed and hypocrisy in the Republican and Democratic parties the Commission for Responsive Democracy calls for a new party and recommends to the National Organization for Women that it provide leadership with other constituencies, grassroots activists, and those fundamentally alienated from the current system in the establishment of a new independent political party dedicated to equality, social and economic justice, demilitarization, and a healthy environment. This new party will include as part of its basic tenets internal democracy, candidate adherence to the party's platform, and accountability to its membership.

The NOW commission's call, Jeremy Rifkin's broadly attended meetings towards a Continental Congress, the late October People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, and independent African American presidential candidate Ron Daniels' call for a 1992 Progressive Convention all demonstrate that progressive movements are in a convergence phase. People are sick of the Democrats, tired of infighting, appalled at the course of current events, and

ready for independent politics. The level of informal organization seems to be evolving; people may not be in the same structures, but it seems that connections are increasing across the country.

The key question in all these debates right now is organization:

- There is a fundamental contradiction between coalition and organization. Organizations often receive primary loyalty from their members; they can represent a well-developed, coherent political position. Coalitions are organizations of organizations which typically coalesce around very narrow agendas. They tend towards lowest-common-denominator politics.

- Existing political parties function as coalitions. The Democrats activate the members of grassroots-based groups like NOW, Sierra Club, and NAACP when needed to win elections. In between elections, the Democrats typically do not serve as any kind of direct action organization trying to mobilize people around issues; they operate as a skeleton crew, concerned with strategizing for and winning the

next election by again mobilizing the various constituencies. This is due in large part to the nature of the electoral system in this country, and contrasts with the European party model, which is much more oriented toward the activist cadre membership base of the various parties.

- The NOW commission heard repeated testimony concerning the need for a visionary, grassroots activist, internally democratic, and accountable politics. These desires will not be satisfied through a coalition-type structure; it is imperative that such a new formation function much more as a coherent organization, which in-

dividuals can join, be committed to, and work within without first being members of another organization. Subsequent comments by NOW leadership indicate they do want a strong dues-paying base for any new party.

- This raises some very difficult questions. The issue of primary loyalty is key. There are some real problems with



most likely to carry forward NOW's history of top-down liberal reform into a Social Democratic/Realo Green type of party. A radical IPO with a Green-type strategy and program is obviously most desirable, but realistically it is unlikely given the political background of the disillusioned Democrats who are initiating this process.

Given the uncertainty, the Greens should continue building their organization and action program. The development of an independent new politics will take more than one presidential election year. The most effective way for the Greens to shape this process is to demonstrate the relevance of Green theory by putting it into practice. That means we should be focusing on building from our

strengths, on what we are already capable of doing well—organizing activist locals, doing extraparliamentary actions, and running and electing Green municipal candidates. Consistent and effective extraparliamentary action, hundreds of Greens elected to local office, and the beginnings of Green cities and municipal confederations that are implementing the Green program of grassroots political and economic democracy and new ecological and social justice programs—a practical record of effective action like this will do more to persuade people of the relevance of Green politics than all of the eloquent speeches and manifestoes in the world.

Howard Hawkins

dual-membership strategies. If NOW wants to make a big push for a new party, and if this party is grassroots-democratic and open to individual memberships, and is doing extra-electoral work as well as just focusing on elections, then what becomes of NOW's current membership base? Or The Greens, or the NAACP, and so on? Dual membership may look fine on paper, but certain political zero-sum realities will come into play, especially at the volunteer, grassroots level, where people generally want to pick one thing and stick with it.

The Green Council at its November meeting needs to have some serious discussion about these issues, and develop policy guidelines for The Greens in dealing with these various efforts.

Charles Betz



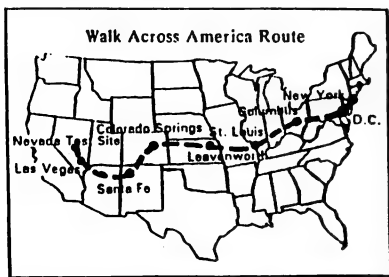
The Green Reader

Essays Toward a Sustainable Society

Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Diary

White Silk and Black Tar: A Journal of the Alaska Oil Spill, by Page Spencer. Published by Bergamot Books, PO Box 7413, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

A diary-like account of the Exxon oil spill as experienced by the author, a native Alaskan and Ph.D. ecologist with the National Park Service who headed a team which monitored the effects of the spill on the pristine wilderness of Kenai Fjords National Park. A professional and personal account of the most devastating oil spill ever to occur in North America.



Walk Across America 1992

Walk Across America is an international walk of apology to Indigenous Peoples of America; a walk of solidarity with indigenous people and oppressed peoples; and a call to the U.S. government to honor the treaties and end nuclear testing on Western Shoshone lands. The celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival is surely misplaced. For Indians to celebrate this Quincentenary would be like the Jews rendering homage to Hitler, or the Japanese revering Harry Truman for the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The International Walk of Awareness begins February 1, 1992. For more information write: For Mother Earth 1992, International Office, 1066 N. High Street, Columbus, Ohio 43201 or call 1-800-466-WALK (National) or (614) 291-9255.

Edited by Andrew Dobson. Dr. Dobson teaches political science at the University of Keele in Staffordshire, England, and specializes in political theory and Green politics. Introduction by David Gancher, formerly assistant director of public affairs for the Sierra Club and a senior editor of *Sierra* magazine and *Not Man Apart* (the journal of Friends of the Earth). Published by Mercury House, San Francisco.

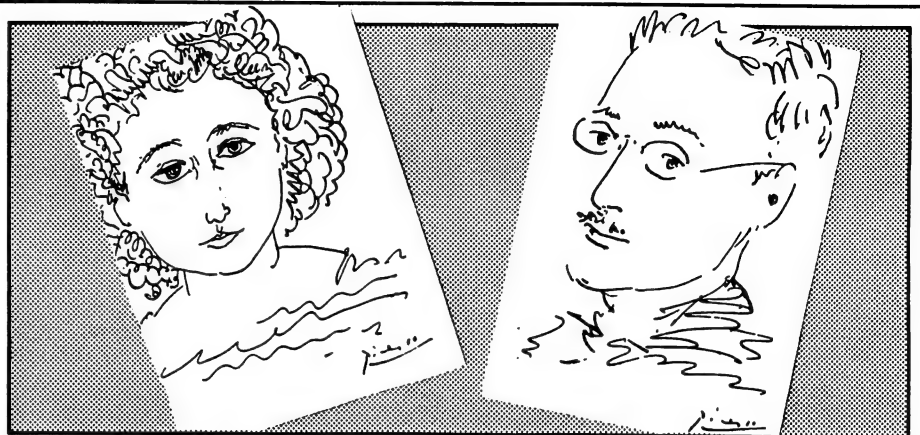
This collection of excerpts from mostly classic essays by long-recognized authors (it's rather like a "Greatest Hits" album) is divided into categories GREEN: Critique, Society, Economics, Political Strategies, and Philosophy. The classics—including Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring," Amory Lovins on "Soft Energy Paths," Brian Tokar's "Green Defence," and E.F. Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful," are represented, as is Petra Kelly, a prominent German Green politician. This important international collection of writings represents the visionary wing of the environmental movement, addressing subjects such as population explosion, decentralization,

bioregionalism, ecofeminism, organic farming, depletion quotas and pollution taxes, green consumerism, animal rights and the Gaia hypothesis. Of significance is a range of viewpoints. As David Gancher describes in the foreword, "Green activists are far from totally united in their views...they are a movement, not an army." In one case, a couple of pages from John Elkington's and Julia Hailes's "Green Consumer Guide" appears to be a foil for "Beyond Green Consumerism" by Sandy Irvine (London: Friends of the Earth).

Whether you've already read the longer versions of these essays, or you are looking for an initial foray into Green thinking, or if you are only beginning to realize that recycling and meaning well aren't enough, you'll want to add this to your library and have extra copies on hand.

Helen Vidal

The Green Reader can be ordered by mail from the San Francisco Greens, 2940 16th St., Suite 314, San Francisco, CA, 94103. \$11.95 paperback, \$24.95 Cloth.



A new Green Mountain Post Films release for those who wish to understand the origins of the Cold War, *Unknown Secrets: Art and the Rosenberg Era*, provides a dramatic introduction. Dozens of books have been written about the Rosenberg case, but until now it was virtually unknown that scores of artists and writers including Picasso and Leger, Arthur Miller and Adrienne Rich had also expressed themselves about the Rosenbergs. Based on a compelling book and nationally-touring art exhibit, *Unknown Secrets* looks back at what happened, deciphering the language of the Cold War and the place of art in politics, from the days of Senator McCarthy to those of Jesse Helms. To order *Unknown Secrets* and to obtain a complete catalog of GMP films, write or call Green Mountain Post Films, P.O. Box 229, Turner Falls, MA 01376, (413) 863-4754, 863-8248

Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out

Edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Kaahumanu, 379pp, Alyson Publications, 40 Plympton St, Boston MA 02118, \$11.95 paperback.

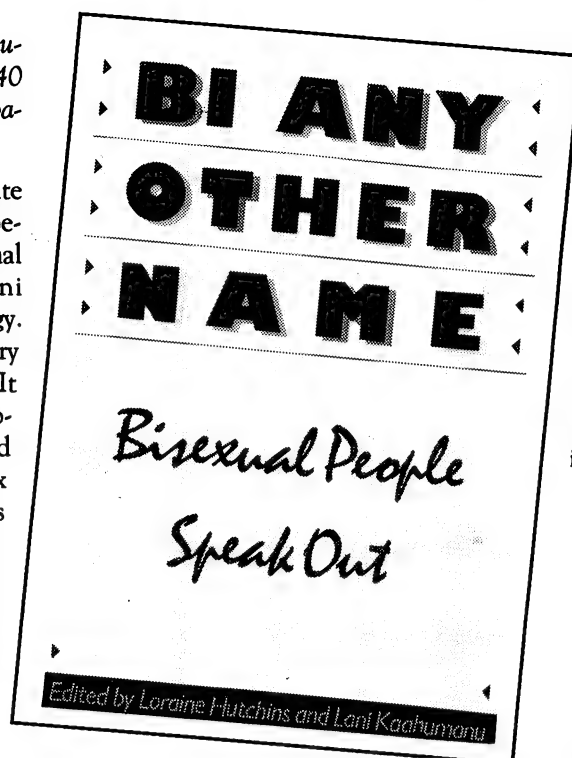
"It is difficult to present an accurate account of our roots when we are just becoming visible to ourselves," write bisexual activists Loraine Hutchins and Lani Kaahumanu, the editors of this anthology. This book is worth celebrating as history in the making, as well as for its content. It gives bisexuals and everyone else an opportunity to glimpse the complexity and range of bisexual experience. Seventy-six contributors write of their experiences as bisexuals or family members of bisexuals.

The editors note that what appears to be a sudden burst of organizing on local, national and international levels is "actually the result of years of isolated grassroots organizing through social support groups and political caucuses within larger coalitions." The politicization of bisexuality as described here may take some people by surprise, as may the existence of the book for those not already aware of the bisexual movement.

In their introduction, Hutchins and Kaahumanu pose the question, "Why this book?" In answer, they assert: "Bisexual people—by any other name, by every other name—have lived and loved since the beginning of time. Yet we're told we don't exist, that we're really heterosexual or really gay, that nothing exists between these two extremes...It is time for bisexuals to speak in our own voices, no longer filtered by experts' interpretations of who we are." And they do speak out.

The writers argue against these attitudes and related disparaging views of bisexuality: that it is just a stage on the way to becoming lesbian or gay; that bisexuals are confused or experimenting, and therefore not reliable in relationships; that they are fence-sitters who cannot be counted on as allies in the fight for lesbian and gay rights; and that bisexuals have the ability to closet themselves in the straight community, which gives them the privilege of not having to deal with homophobia.

While the contributors all share the label "bisexual," reading only a few pieces



demonstrates to the reader that the label applies to a wide range of experience. The very format of the anthology is a strong point. Drawing on the many ways sexual orientation affects our lives, the sections of the book reflect diverse experience rather than just focusing on sex and the choice of partners. Four sections form the bulk of the book: "Psychology: Facing Ourselves," "Spirituality: Healing the Spirit," "Community: Are We Visible Yet?" and "Politics: A Queer Among Queers."

The book ends with a history of bisexual political activism, a short list of resources, and a glossary of terms. For instance, environments, people, etc which are accepting of bisexuality are referred to as "bi-positive" or "bi-friendly."

The pride which the contributors have learned to take in their identity is evident. Karen Hurley writes that in the beginning of her coming out process, "I merely thought I was becoming weird in every possible way, [but] my joy now in loving women and men convinces me, in a way that no intellectual argument can, that bisexuality is neither sinful nor politically incorrect. I do not need to rely on an authority to tell me what is right or what I



want—my knowledge is as solid as my bones."

The diversity among the writers and the way that they experience their bisexuality can only be hinted at. It is this diversity, and the pride, the power and the honesty of the stories which makes the book required reading for anyone interested specifically in bisexuality, or in sexual politics in general.

Reviewed by Catherine Fischer.

Edited from Agenda, Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmonthly. Subscriptions \$15, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor MI 48104

RAIN Magazine

RAIN magazine, which in the 1970s described itself as a "Journal of Appropriate Technology," is publishing again.

RAIN is a quarterly journal covering "alternatives to old-school socialism, rapacious capitalism, technocracy, tyranny and megacorporate culture that promotes greed, violence and persecution."

RAIN is also a beautifully-produced magazine featuring an eclectic mix of articles such as "The Lao Alternative," describing a natural economy where everything the people use comes, without abuse, from their surroundings; "Medieval Movements and the origin of Switzerland," exploring the roots of this decentralized confederation; and "April & May 1970," a pictorial look at student protest at the University of Oregon.

Subscriptions to RAIN are \$20/year in the U.S., \$24 elsewhere. RAIN, PO Box 30097, Eugene OR 97403-1097.



Announcements

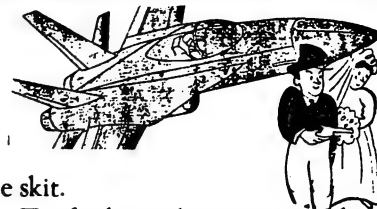
I.W.W. Holds General Assembly

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) held their annual General Assembly over Labor Day weekend. The assembly expressed support for IWW/Earth First! activist Judi Bari in her lawsuit against the FBI. The Industrial Worker is the monthly newsletter of the IWW, and is available for \$10 per year. Contact the IWW at 1095 Market #204, San Francisco CA 94103.

Prevailing Winds Research is devoted to the preservation and dissemination of socio-political information not readily available. Their Summer/Fall catalog is now available by writing P.O. Box 23511, Santa Barbara CA 93121 or via Voice Mail (805) 566-8016 or FAX (805) 966-0245. Titles include: Alternative Perspectives on American Democracy; The Guns and Drugs Reader (a collection which deals with narcotics trafficking by sectors of the United States government); and the entire trial transcript of Richard Brenneke, which uncovers hidden details of the October Surprise. Currently, their research department is putting together readers exploring the reasons behind the Persian Gulf War and Media and Propaganda in America.

Youth/Student Coalition Calls Anti-Militarism Action

Y/SCAM—Youth and Student Coalition Against Militarism is sad to announce the engagement of the University to the Military-Industrial Complex. Guerilla theatre ceremonies will be held on campuses across the country on Tuesday, October 29, 1991. To find out more about this love-match write DOD Off Campus Skit, P.O. Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142 for a



free skit.

To find out how your campus promotes militarism, call the appropriate Y/SCAM group to find out, to get a free brochure, and to organize. Y/SCAM has these services:

People for a Socially Responsible University (413) 549-4625. Military company divestment, counter-recruiting efforts. \$15 Newsletter;

War Research Information Service (617) 354-0363. Military research investigation, opposition. Organizing packets \$20/yr;

Education for the People (202) 234-0041. Promotes educational access; opposes racist curriculum attacks;

CIA Off Campus Project, (312) 427-4559. Opposes CIA misdeeds, campus connections. Newsletter \$15.

Earth on the Air

Earth on the Air is a non-profit, eclectic, grassroots radio program that explores the interconnectedness of environmental and social justice themes. Its goals are to inspire listeners to take action on behalf of the Earth and its inhabitants, and to empower the public by involving them in the art of radio.

Tape submissions and queries are now being prepared for the expansion of Earth on the Air into a weekly, half-hour, nationally syndicated public radio program. If you want help in formulating a project, send us a description of your idea and we'll try to guide you toward a final broadcast-quality segment.

For submission guidelines, contact Earth on the Air, P.O. Box 45883, Seattle, WA 98145-0883, (206) 632-1451.

Federal Funds for Bicycles

At the moment there is a very green bill going through Congress. Its official title is "HR2101 - The Bicycle and Pedestrian Transportation Improvement Act of 1991," but everyone knows it as the "Bike Bill".

The bill requires states to spend 3% of federal highway funds to improve bicycle and pedestrian transport facilities—about \$400 million per year.

We can lobby our congresspeople to co-sponsor the bill. Many progressives have not yet got behind the bill despite its relatively non-controversial status. Call your congressperson. Get their number from the House directory at (202)224-3121.

If this bill passes we will need to organize locally to make sure the money is spent in an environmentally sound way. That will require bridge-building between bicyclists and public transit advocates.

For more information, contact Mitra, Box 580, Forest Knolls CA 94933, (415) 488-0944 (econet: mitra).



Wild Earth

"The cutting edge of wilderness preservation has passed from well-established, wealthy national groups . . . to struggling, hungry grassroots organizations with their feet and hearts planted firmly in the wilderness," asserts Dave Foreman, in the second issue of the new wilderness and biodiversity magazine Wild Earth, of which he is the executive editor. Published in early August, the second issue of Wild Earth includes profiles of 22 of the regional ad hoc groups and coalitions that are on the "cutting edge" of wilderness and biodiversity issues. Essays and reports on biodiversity, land ethics, population control, ancient forest legislation, and preservation strategies and tactics, plus poetry and wildlife drawings round out the issue.

John Davis edits Wild Earth. Foreman and Davis formerly edited the Earth First! Journal.

The 85-page issue is available for \$5 from Wild Earth, PO Box 492, Canton, NY 13617 (for first class postage, add \$2). Subscriptions to Wild Earth are \$20 a year.

1991 Gathering

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movement-based campaign aimed at establishing a permanent new party. Daniels' image of a campaign that could support movement building appealed to Greens wary of the opposite tendency. This, combined with Daniels' endorsement of core green values and personal reputation, won him considerable support.

Creating Community — Continued viability of the Greens depended upon a renewed and expanded sense of community emerging from the gathering. Effective community prevents differences in outlook from leading directly to an unfettered pursuit of strategic politics with the crippling internal divisions and splits that often result. Solidarity is sustained by a variety of means, not least through a dense web of relationships that span ideological and cultural divides.

The fourfold process of polarization,

the agreement, acknowledged his especially impassioned reception by saying that "Two and a half years ago I coined the term 'green justice' with a dream. This is greater than my dream." Without doubt we Greens have only begun to realize the larger dream we share—freeing all the oppressed, saving the planet," and the long exhilarating moment that climaxed the conference was only a moment, but it should not be slighted or forgotten. By sticking together through a nearly intractable disagreement, we were able to stand together at the end.

One Organization or Two: The Debate on the Green Party Organizing Committee (GPOC)

The Elkins conference began with the GPOC meeting, which became a marathon debate on its relationship with the Greens. At issue was where power to shape Green electoral activity should lie. Those pressing for the re-integration of the GPOC argued that Green members as a

The priority each placed on having a separate organizational vehicle to advance their conception of green politics led them to brand the principle of democratic accountability to the membership as hierarchic. Lorenz called it "centralized;" Rensenbrink declared it a means to institute "rigid uniformity." In addition, Lorenz juxtaposed the "lack of direction" and overall ineffectiveness of the Greens nationally with an image of rapidly growing state Green parties. She went on to label the new national structure a "paper organization," and to dismiss the just-published Program as "unworkable as a party platform."

Proponents of a unified structure, in addition to stressing democratic accountability, faulted the GPOC for abandoning the work of multi-cultural alliance building in its rush to qualify for ballot status. Kwazi Nkrumah, an African-American activist from California, called the California Green Party a "white political vehicle," whose haste to get on the ballot had harmed alliance-building efforts. In response to repeated mention of the 35,000 voters now registered Green, he asked rhetorically, "How much do minor parties count for in California?"

A compromise agreement was finally hammered out and subsequently adopted by the Green Congress. Under it, the GPOC was dissolved. As a political tendency, it is succeeded by the Green Party Organizing Caucus. Green electoral work will be coordinated through a Green Party USA, to be formally incorporated as soon as possible. It will be overseen by a board "composed of members elected by the Green Congress and representatives of kindred organizations." State green parties will be accredited by the Green Party USA board. Thus at the national level there is a unified structure with leaders accountable to the membership. However, in a major departure from calls for a single membership base, state Green parties are free to develop their own memberships. Delegates to the next Green Congress will be chosen both by Green locals and by state Green party organizations, based in the latter case upon as yet unspecified membership criteria. The agreement leaves many important issues of communication and coordination at the local and state levels unresolved.

This article was written for RAIN magazine. See page 55 for more info on RAIN.



breakdown, renovation, and affirmation that characterized the gathering cannot be recounted here, only its climax.

On Tuesday night a single compromise proposal on organizational structure was presented to the Green Congress. After its near unanimous passage, there was a prolonged and almost delirious celebration that continued and intensified while Kwazi Nkrumah introduced the Green Justice Caucus's nominations for various leadership positions. Following this, many others who had played important roles in the events of the conference were singled out and similarly honored, an unusual gesture from a group traditionally suspicious of leadership. Sulaiman Mahdi, an African-American activist who helped facilitate

whole should democratically determine electoral policy. In contrast, some GPOC leaders sought to maximize its freedom to pursue its own political agenda via state Green parties. John Rensenbrink, saying "we should not be in the same organization," depicted the GPOC as an entity that would support a more "value-centered" rather than ideological politics, that eschewed protest in favor of a strictly electoral focus. Mindy Lorenz, after contrasting the "only several hundred people" that approved the Greens program and new structure to the "35,000 members [registered voters] of the California Green Party," portrayed the GPOC as an organization that could "come to terms with our population base."

East Germany

continued from page 35

awaken in mutual inspiration and change have fallen aside. Instead, West Germans have no contact with their poor cousins, resent paying the bills for them, and are fearful of losing any of their wealth—one of the more disgusting chapters in recent events. West Germany hasn't yet comprehended the depth of change. Still slumbering in their post-war idyll, they remain content to count their money and complain about the Americans running everything. Only too slowly is there a realization that it wasn't the "amis" but their own elected government and people who wanted and made these choices. Germany has not yet come to terms with itself.

Bundnis '90 will be forced to form an election alliance with the WG's in order to avoid sudden death at the federal level. But this public identification with the Greens could mean their slow death. The next two years are critical, not only for the East groups, but for the idea of a new kind of movement.

Recycling In Vienna

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about taking back recyclables; outdated medicines can be returned to drugstores; grocery stores will take back empty yogurt containers (they are collected and sent to a plant that makes them into flower pots!) and old batteries can be taken back to stores that sell them.

Since 1989, a successful project for waste reduction and recycling has been carried out on behalf of the municipal authorities at two large Viennese apartment complexes by the Austrian Ecology Institute and the Ecology Consultant Service. Their goal was to develop, with the residents, a functioning method for large-scale reduction and recycling of waste. It was deemed a huge success, and never before had Vienna had consumers and merchants worked together in this capacity. From the idea "Composting in Alt-Erlas" (the name of one of the complexes), a model project for decentralized composting for 125 households arose.

Of course there are problems connected with this vast recycling drive. Sorting the recyclables is a big, expensive job. Often, industry cannot handle all the materials that should be recycled. According to the Austrian Ecology Institute, European paper recycling factories are flooded with American newspaper recycling matter, which is far easier to process and does not have to be sorted to the same extent as the multitude of paper types that Austrians are willing to recycle. This means that the factories are not able to take care of all European paper recycling.

Over the past few years, more and more private recycling factories have gone bankrupt, thus the city bears the (financial) brunt of final processing/disposal.

Despite the willingness of the Viennese population, the "mountain" of waste continues to grow at a rate of 4%. Yet the city authorities are hopeful that more can be done to reducing the waste problem.

Debt For Nature

continued from page 33

designated as the sole administrator of national park funding under their DN agreement. One of their first acts upon receiving this unprecedented power was to endorse a management plan for the Yasuni National Park in which more than 50% of the park is open to oil and mineral exploitation. Both grass roots environmentalists and indigenous groups in Ecuador actively oppose DN swaps.

In Argentina, protesters charge that their government is prepared to sign an agreement handing over administrative control of the country's protected wilderness areas, including the national parks, to a single, private, environmental group: Vida Silvestre Argentina (VSA). VSA is the local affiliate of WWF, whose major funders include Exxon and other big oil multinationals. Protest organizer and park ranger Alejandro Beletzky, just back from a meeting with other organizers in Buenos Aires, describes a plan in which roughly half of the national park system would be designated as "Strict Nature Reserves," while "at least half of the country's protected wild areas would be left open to development by private investors in exchange

for payments on the debt." In that case, what happens to the existing system of government parks and nature reserves? "Nobody knows." What does the government say? "The president won't say anything, no one will know what's going to happen until the agreement has already been signed." A 400,000 acre nature reserve known as los Esteros de Ibera has already been auctioned off in this manner. Slated for inclusion in the national park system, this previously-protected wilderness has passed into the hands of a subsidiary of the Ferrari Corporation whose immediate plan is to build two five-star hotels. (Interestingly, President Carlos Menem recently came under attack in the Argentine press for the mysterious circumstances by which he came into possession of his new Ferrari, for which no sales or customs records exist.)

Organizer Marcel Berdun says the weekly demonstrations will continue indefinitely, or "until the integrity of our national parks and the sovereignty of our country is assured." In the meantime important questions are being asked, but answers are conspicuously lacking: Why are North Americans, who continue to lay waste to the small fragments that remain of their own habitat, more qualified than local governments to

preserve nature? What's gained in dismantling an existing system of nature preserves that has worked for most of this century? What exactly is this plan for Argentina and why all the secrecy? Why are the people of the countries involved not allowed to have input into swaps involving millions of acres of publicly owned land before they're already signed and sealed? Community pressure here and in the U.S. is currently the only means of influencing these deals. Why is saving the Brazilian rain forest a higher priority in the U.S. than saving the California rain forest?

I climbed a mountain today, just another gringo enjoying the beauty of Argentina's national parks and the cheap, easy life born of an economic system that values my labor twice to ten times as much as an equally skilled Latino. Just as I reached the top a condor flew by and circled back a few times before flying off silently to the north. There's something different about condors, the shape of their wings, the way they hold themselves, a different kind of grace, a kind of grace to which the men at the World Bank assign no value.

For more information, contact Greenpeace Argentina, Junin 45, 3er Piso, 10(26) Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Recycling for the People

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tion in public affairs, especially where funding is concerned, creating and sustaining such a democratic institution is a serious problem.

Direct, non-partisan elections of the corporation's board of directors from the communities served would seem to be the obvious answer. Additional seats on the board would be reserved for elected representatives of the recycling workforce. It is fair to state that this approach may not insure a truly democratic outcome or an outcome that insures that competent, committed individuals are put in charge of the project. The potential for political interference is high, and electing progressive people to these positions would be a struggle. Candidates should have to meet set standards of community involvement to qualify for election.

Many may question if such enterprise could be profitable at a time when market prices for recyclable material are uncertain and fluctuating. How can the City insure that there are some economic resources left to control after a CORC has discharged its collection, processing and marketing responsibilities? It is noteworthy that Browning Ferris Industries and Waste Management, Inc. (the nation's largest private recyclers) both turn significant profits from their recycling divisions through lucrative contracts with municipalities. This point emphasizes that recycling is potentially profitable.

A locally-based, fully closed recycling economy further expands the universe of jobs for less skilled New Yorkers. It also enhances a CORC's chance of generating positive revenues for community controlled development by providing markets for processed materials and cutting transportation costs. The City has the economic development resources to create this economy by offering incentives to the private sector to locate in New York, by expanding the activities that CORCs could be involved in to include manufacturing, or by building City-owned plants. Some market for the goods produced could be assured by the City's own purchasing power.

A community-based recycling program would most likely meet resistance

from three groups. First, political leaders, while never afraid to socialize economic losses (for example, those incurred by bank, savings and loan, and corporate bailouts), are loathe to socialize profit. Unless a demonstrated and well organized constituency advocates community recycling, political leaders at any level of government will never take on the issue as their own.

The resistance of mainstream environmentalists, who tend not to connect solutions to environmental problems with the opportunity to advance a social agenda, is also problematic. They are looking for a recycling program that is "tonnage driven:" The bottom line is how much landfill space can be saved. However, as poorer neighborhoods continue to show low participation rates, mainstream environmentalists are looking for alternatives by reaching out to community recyclers.

Finally, there is the army of bureaucrats and their technicians who reject these ideas as a matter of principles. Bureaucracies often interpret their role in government as regulators of information and ideas. Their job is to screen "crazy" (different, creative, risky) ideas out of the decision making process.

The recycling model described above allows profit from recycling activity to be directed to a community's priorities, whether those are health-care, parks, low interest loans for neighborhood businesses. Is any of this possible? A bureaucracy's ability to dictate policy largely depends on its ability to set the terms of public debate. As long as the public is reacting to a particular proposal (say, for a recycling program) those parameters will never expand. Radical ideas become policy only when their advocates come forward with planned, reasoned alternatives that automatically expand what is considered acceptable. The environmental crisis in our cities creates the opportunity for creative solutions that address many problems. It's time to put forward an environmental agenda that appeals to a broad constituency, one that transcends traditional notions of environmental politics.

Ben Esner works on environmental policy for the City of New York.

Special thanks are extended to Anne-Marie Otey for her contributions to this article and to the activists who have helped shape my thinking about these ideas. □

Quayle

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Quayle killed it, on the ground that the costs outweighed the benefits, offering no supporting evidence. For the same reason and again without proof, he rejected the EPA's proposal to ban incineration of lead batteries; the rule had been designed primarily to protect the health of children.

Waxman believes that Quayle's operation is "flagrantly illegal," and even to an outsider it has a furtive look about it. No law gives Quayle the right to veto or undercut a pollution-control program mandated by Congress; there is no Congressional oversight of his council and no way of knowing what transpires in the council's communications with the regulated companies. The only legal rationale for his operation is contained in two executive orders signed by President Reagan in 1981 and 1985. The purpose of these orders, as stated in the preamble, was to "insure well-reasoned regulations."

Government back-room collaboration with regulated companies, introduced a decade ago by Bush as routine procedure at the White House's Office of Management and Budget, now seems to be fully institutionalized in spite of efforts of Congress to control it.

All this top-level attention to deregulation likely portends improved political prospects for Quayle. Until Bush entrusted him with his new assignment, Quayle had no specific task that could demonstrate his presidential qualifications. Now he has one. Ability to please corporate campaign contributors is an important item on any presidential résumé.

Getting along with campaign contributors is essential, but if he aspires to the presidency, Quayle needs to demonstrate other talents as a national leader. So far, his experience in Bush's domestic program appears to be largely limited to undercutting safeguards that protect public health.

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From Ash to Cash

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tification for what should be an outlawed business."

The US has an ambiguous system for handling the export of toxic waste. Under current law, the EPA must notify and receive consent of the destination country before a shipment of hazardous waste can leave a US port. The federal agency, however, has no authority to prevent a shipment from taking place, even if it doubts the country is capable of handling it.

There are no restrictions on those waste exports not technically classified as hazardous, such as Philadelphia's incinerator ash, household refuse, some waste oils, and uranium mining tailing wastes, even though many of these can be quite toxic.

Environmental groups such as Greenpeace believe that regulating the trade gives it legitimacy and respectability, so a complete ban is necessary.

Vallette adds, "The only real solution to the toxic waste problem is to reduce waste at its source... to stop it from ever being produced. The world needs to begin thinking about long-term solutions to the waste crisis."

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The Perils of Plastic

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sign of slowing down. It doubled between 1976 and 1984 and is projected to reach 75 billion pounds by the year 2000.

And plastic will be there for a long time. The decomposition of plastic depends on atmospheric conditions and the type and density of the plastic. Exposed to rain, wind, and variations in temperature, a plastic ketchup bottle might disintegrate in a century and a plastic grocery bag in a year. In a sanitary landfill, in the arid West, both can reasonably aspire to synthetic immortality.

If you can't bury plastic, can you burn it? Take an intrinsically worthless byproduct of petroleum, then turn it into something putatively useful; when the useful object is discarded; incinerate it and create energy. It's an appealing vision and high-tech waste-to-energy plants are widespread in Europe and Asia. Incineration was the disposal method initially promoted by plastics manufacturers, who observe with satisfaction that plastic burns twice as hot

as Wyoming coal.

More than a hundred of so-called waste-to-energy plants are in use in the US, mostly in the East, where the landfill crunch is most acute. They've run into trouble in California, where a handful are in operation but more have succumbed to local opposition.

Incineration is fraught with problems. Burning fossil fuel results in emission of carbon dioxide, the chemically innocuous but atmospherically insidious greenhouse gas. Plastic is fossil fuel once removed, so on that basis alone burning it is a bad idea.

Worse, many waste-to-energy plants do what's known as "mass burns" of unsorted trash, including batteries, leftover paint, old refrigerators, and plastic waste. The ash that results may be full of heavy metals, and the fumes, despite expensive scrubbers contain minute amounts of dioxins and furans. It begins to look as though the least environmentally costly strategy, despite the appeal of plastics recycling as a concept, is source reduction. □



Community Recyclers

Continued from page 10

aggressive recycling program brought "a remarkable change in the markets," he continues. "In 1964 only 2% of beverage cans were aluminium. Now 97% are—and that's based on about 1.7 billion cans a year, a 70% increase from six years earlier." Aluminium prices have risen steadily over the last few years, and almost single-handedly keep many recycling programs afloat.

But even the reliable price of aluminium cans has dropped markedly since May, victim of oversupply and other unrelated market forces. Many recyclers have resorted to layoffs to adjust to a price drop in their last profitable commodity.

Nonprofit recyclers have weathered these huge changes in the markets with difficulty. Generally operating with few reserves to see them through really terrible price drops, many threw in the towel with

the newspaper crash of 1988. Many others were unable to compete with the enormously larger, well-capitalized garbage conglomerates when it came to bidding on city curbside pick-up, and were forced to close as their customers opted for the more convenient pick-up service. Along with the city programs, the remaining nonprofits are hanging on by their teeth, hoping for rises in commodity prices as demand for recycled products gradually increases. City programs will be able to raise taxes and fees as their losses mount; most nonprofits do not have this option.

The only solution for the current malaise in the recycling markets is increased sales of products with recycled content. The state of Connecticut has pioneered legislation mandating increased recycled content in newspapers and several other states have followed suit. Cities and states have begun to mandate recycled content

in printing and writing paper. Tax incentives are being considered by states and the federal government to encourage manufacturers of all materials to include recycled feedstock in their production plans.

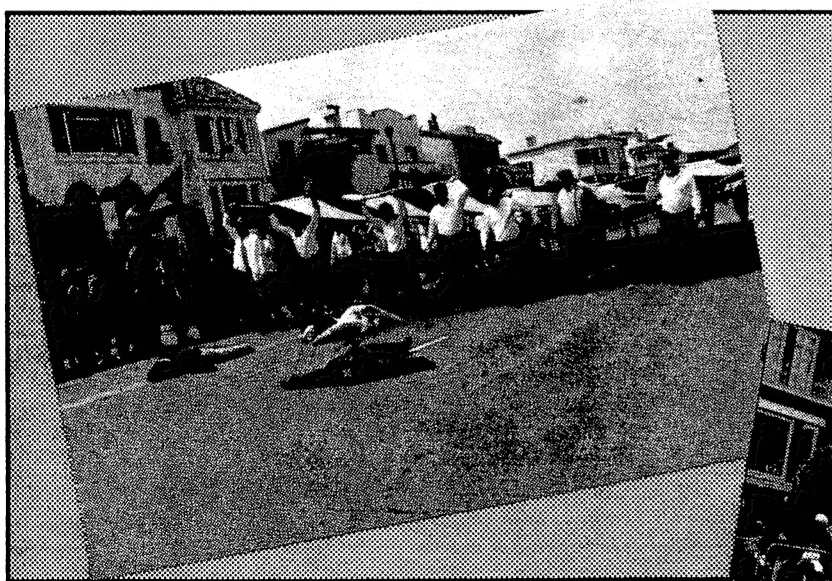
The bottom line is public demand. If recycling is to become an integral part of our economy, the consuming public must actively work to make this change. If a product isn't marked as having recycled content, ask! If the answer is, "No," or "I don't know," ask the storekeeper to carry recycled products. If you're buying for an organization, ask if recycled content products are available, and specify them if they are. You may need to pay a bit more now, but economies of scale will set in when there's enough being purchased. Even more than setting those materials out by the curb, buying recycled is the most important thing Americans can do to promote resource conservation and recycling today. □

How to Join the Greens

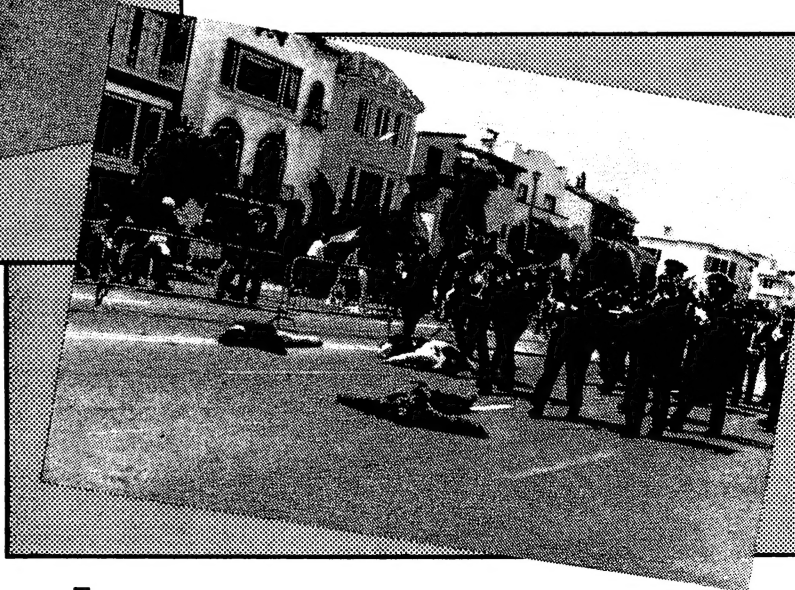
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Credit Correction: Last issue we omitted a graphic credit for the Greens National Gathering ad. It was from the Handbook for Nonviolent Action, published jointly by War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St, NY, NY 10012 and Donnelly/Colt Graphics of Connecticut. We apologize for the omission.



San Francisco protesters at a summer "Victory Parade" tossed life-sized dummies covered with red paint in front of the marchers, forcing flag-bearers and patriotic marching bands to step over the "corpses." Photos by Judy Foster.



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